The Forum

DECEMBER, 1901.

# THE STATUS OF RELIGION IN GERMANY.

EVERY event within the domain of religion in Germany must of necessity be interesting to other nations also; for Germany is the land of the Reformation and the home of the philosophy of religion, the chief centre of historical investigation and criticism in religious matters as well as secular. In all that appertains to scientific inquiry within the domain of religion Germany has hitherto maintained the leadership. Great changes have been effected here during the nineteenth century, and recently the religious problem has again come very prominently into the foreground.

In order to ascertain the reasons for this condition, it will be necessary to revert to the beginning of the nineteenth century — to the period culminating in poets such as Schiller and Goethe, and in savants such as Kant and Hegel. The relation between this classical era of German literature and the religion of the time was not an unfriendly one. But it was not in the ecclesiastical, or even in the specifically Christian, religion that inward conviction then found expression. Perhaps the term Pantheism, first employed by Krause, best expresses the religious attitude of our classical epoch. Every form of creation appeared to be comprehended in one being, and to be founded in divine wisdom — a wisdom operating everywhere, not from without, but as an emanation of the inmost being of every form of creation; and this wisdom found its fullest expression in the free and rational human organism, *i.e.*, in man. The conception and development of this idea everywhere served to operate as

*Permission to republish articles is reserved.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an invigorating and ennobling factor. In the midst of our temporal existence religion disclosed to view an infinite perspective, and brought human nature into relation with the invisible, but endless, chain of existence. Such a religion could afford to dispense with dogmas and ceremonies. It recognized no differences of creed, but appealed directly to man as such. It scorned to assume any particular form, in order that it might avoid limitations and preserve its influence unimpaired.

This religion of a universal humanity found a marvellous expression in the works of our great poets, notably in those of Goethe, and in this form it has exerted its influence to the present day. Yet it was, after all, only the handmaid of intellectual labors which culminated in science and art. It did not attain the independence peculiar to other departments; it was the mental attribute of the individual rather than a power in public affairs, and displayed no desire or aptitude for organization. Despite the breadth of ideas and refinement of sentiment peculiar to it, this religion occupied no place in the public life. Hence it was that within a very wide circle there existed a positive apathy as regards religion, which was regarded as essential to the ignorant only. Indeed, it was generally believed that in course of time religion would be supplanted by culture.

The first decades of the nineteenth century already show a tendency toward the strengthening of religion. Romanticism makes its appearance in literature, and with it we may note an increased appreciation of history. The gaze reverts to the past and seeks to grasp the relation between it and contemporary life. A similar phenomenon is noticeable in religion. Here also historical tradition is restored to its former status, and finds a wide acceptance. A far more powerful factor of change, however, must be sought in the actual experiences of life. The Napoleonic wars were fraught with dire calamity to Germany; and only after Herculean efforts on the part of the nation was it possible eventually to throw off the foreign yoke. Amid the sufferings and sacrifices entailed the tone of the nation became graver, and there arose a greater susceptibility to religion in the older sense — religion conceived as a redemption from need and misery by means of a supernatural agency. These influences could not, however, permanently affect and control the national life; and it was within the pale of the church itself that there now arose an even stronger tendency to return to the simple forms of Christianity, as transmitted by tradition, and to the older doctrines.

The majority of educated persons could not, of course, participate in this movement, which would have necessitated a renunciation of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

splendid ideas advanced by the great poets and savants of the nation. The circumstance that this orthodox movement nevertheless gained ground during the nineteenth century, and acquired considerable influence, is due largely to the fact that it was supported and favored by the political administration. After the wars of liberation there arose between the German Governments and the people a schism which manifested itself also within the domain of religion. As a result of the wars of liberation the German people regained not only their political, but also to a large extent their personal, independence. It was natural, therefore, that they should now evince a desire to participate more actively in political affairs. The sense of national unity had also been awakened, and the nation perceived the utility of concerted action. In this way the movement in behalf of national unity was inaugurated. Toward this movement the various Governments preserved a repellent, if not an inimical, attitude, being inclined to support every effort tending toward a maintenance of the existing order.

Now the fact is well known that the Protestant churches of Germany enjoy the support of the Government, and that by reason of this coöperation with the state they exert a great influence upon education and culture. It was natural, therefore, that a policy aiming at the maintenance of the *status quo* should favor in religious affairs the tendency to reject all innovations. Furthermore, it is evident that the support thus given to the church was not likely to win the favorable opinion of those who had participated in the great intellectual and political movements of the time. By these not only the church, but every form of religion, had now come to be regarded as a hindrance to the realization of the political and national ideas, and as part and parcel of what was usually embraced in the term "reaction." True, there were many who kept in view the difference between religion, in the wider sense, and ecclesiastical forms, and there were also many vigorous protests against the favoritism shown to particular creeds on the part of the state. But the fact remains that the influence of religion upon public life waned, and that an increasing apathy, if not an actual antipathy to all religion, gradually spread within the educated circles of the nation. Literature also assumed a repellent attitude, if not toward religion, at least toward the church; and the representation of religious subjects vanished almost entirely from the domain of the fine arts.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed a complete revolution of religious sentiment. Of course, religion still has numerous opponents, and there are also many who have maintained

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an attitude of complete indifference toward religious matters. Yet, upon the whole, the interest in religion is far more marked than formerly, and the problems involved in it are more frequently discussed. That the influence of religion is increasing is noticeable in both the Protestant and the Catholic churches. There is a greater solidarity among the members of these respective denominations, and the contrasts between them are at present far more strongly accentuated than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the growth of religious sentiment extends beyond the pale of the church; and wherever opposition to ecclesiastical domination exists, it springs not so much from antipathy to the true interests of religion, as from a solicitude for them. Philosophy, formerly inimical to theology, is now jealously endeavoring to treat religion upon a scientific basis, and to make it an essential part of general culture. The arts, more especially painting, seek to represent the noble figures of tradition in accordance with the modern spirit; and literature also to-day affords far more space to the discussion of religious problems.

In short, all that appertains to the subject is fraught with an intense and all-absorbing interest. The national conflicts of the Germans in Austria were followed with complete passivity by the majority of Germans in the Empire; but as soon as the religious element became involved and there was heard the watchword "Los von Rom," the interest in the movement became universal. The spirit of scepticism in religious matters has continued to permeate the masses; but the deeper religious movement, nevertheless, continues unimpaired. The spirit of denial, once directed against religion, is to-day rapidly waning in Germany. It no longer dominates the intellectual life, nor does it constitute the characteristic of our age.

How may we explain this marvellous transformation in the midst of so much intellectual activity? Undoubtedly, external influences have largely contributed to it. In the first place, the increased political influence of the masses is favorable to religion, or at least to the domination of the church. In the legislative bodies of the various Germany states, *i.e.*, in the "Landtagen," or national assemblies, the property-holding and educated classes predominated because of the fact that the suffrage was — as it still is in many instances — restricted in a greater or lesser degree to a property qualification. The constitution of the German Empire, on the other hand, guaranteed universal suffrage upon the broadest basis. The consequent shifting of the political centre of gravity came gradually, of course; but it came. An increase of ecclesiastical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power was naturally effected first and foremost in the Catholic church, the adherents of which are less influenced by modern ideas; and the spirit of scepticism came more immediately under the influence of the hierarchy.

Several other circumstances contributed to this development. In the German Confederation of 1866, as formerly in the Holy Roman Empire, the Catholic and Protestant elements were perfectly balanced; and the equilibrium was further promoted by the circumstance that Austria was Catholic, while Prussia was Protestant. With the elimination of Austria from the Confederation the Protestants obtained a decided preponderance — in the present German Empire the Protestants constitute sixty-three per cent, and the Catholics thirty-six per cent, of the population — and the leadership in the German Empire was permanently relegated to a dynasty of time-honored Protestant antecedents. This fact alone would have sufficed to give rise to uneasiness among Catholics, even if complications between the state and the Catholic church had not ensued during the first decade of the existence of the New Empire. The decree announcing the infallibility of the Pope, issued in 1870, created considerable excitement in Germany. It served to accentuate the contrasts between Catholicism and Protestantism, and encountered resistance even among an intelligent minority of Catholics. The complications which followed arose from a desire, particularly on the part of Prussia, to guard this minority against persecution.

The agitation spread rapidly. In 1872 Prussia enacted a number of laws aiming to augment the power of the state in contradistinction to that of the church, and, above all, to withdraw the schools from the influence of the latter, so that even the clergy were to receive a national education, while the lower ranks of the priesthood were to be independent of the bishops. The substance of these laws is in accordance with modern culture, and the personal motives of the statesmen that framed them were certainly the best. But the manner in which they were framed and carried into effect was less fortunately conceived. Penalties and police regulations were devised which interfered with the ecclesiastical life, and thus contributed to unite all the adherents of the church in a common defence. These ordinances of the state were characterized by an inability to appreciate the factors which are influential in matters of religion; in other words, they revealed an ignorance of the psychology of religion.

The results produced were exactly contrary to those intended. Nothing ever contributed more to increase the power of the church and to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strengthen its sense of solidarity than did these unskilful attacks on the part of the state. The obstinate resistance of the church could not be broken; the number of Catholic deputies to the Reichstag steadily increased; while their party, the so-called "Centrists," derived strength from the factional spirit which up to the present day has characterized the other elements of that assembly. For many years the Centrists have been the strongest party in the Reichstag, the President of which is a member of that party. Amid these conditions the laws in question could not endure, and with few exceptions they have been gradually repealed. But Catholicism became a political power in Germany, and as such its influence extended to other departments.

This development of power naturally occasioned some apprehension among Protestants, and in order to forestall possible usurpations a number of prominent men formed the Evangelical Union. That the spirit of Protestantism has been aroused is evident from the newly awakened interest in the Reformation and in the personality of Luther. All this is, of course, conducive primarily to an increase of ecclesiastical power rather than of religious sentiment in the deeper sense. On the other hand, religious problems have been again revived. Another noteworthy fact is the frequent conversion of Catholics to Protestantism, and *vice versa*. In this respect Protestantism has been particularly favored by reason of the frequency of mixed marriages. Furthermore, a Protestant minority among Catholics usually evinces a greater power of resistance to proselytizing than does a Catholic minority among Protestants. Thus the preponderance of power is slowly but surely being shifted to the Protestant side.

This growth on the part of the churches would not have been possible, however, without the coöperation of other factors. One of these must be sought in the increased activity of the church in the sphere of practical life. The great revolutions in labor, the advance in the departments of mechanics and industry, the extension of factories, the rapid growth of German cities, more especially since 1870 — all these circumstances have created a number of new problems with which individuals alone were incapable of grappling, and which demanded thorough organization. In this respect much has been accomplished in Germany by the state. Nevertheless, its activity still allowed the church a wide sphere of usefulness in tending the sick and providing for the indigent; and even orthodoxy came to be regarded more favorably by reason of the earnestness and zeal which it displayed. While the practical side of religion was thus more strongly emphasized, the position of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church was also rendered more secure, and individuals whose views were widely divergent found here a fruitful field for coöperation.

Another factor which contributed to strengthen religion was the radical change effected in convictions and sentiments. The political and national aims which had dominated the middle of the century had in the main been realized. The former disunion between the states had been succeeded by a powerful and progressive empire. But, as frequently happens in human life, the attainment of these ambitions soon revealed their numerous limitations. During the struggle for national unity large sections of the population were inspired by the conviction that a new and nobler life would begin upon the formation of the empire. But it soon became obvious that the outward successes which had been achieved had contributed nothing to the spiritual or inner life. Furthermore, a reaction against the ideals of modern culture now manifests itself among all civilized nations, and nowhere more conspicuously than in Germany. The new culture, as developed more particularly during the nineteenth century, endeavored to stimulate the powers of man and to give him a dominion over the forces of nature. To this extent it exerted an incalculable influence, and endowed life with greater variety, freedom, and mobility. At no previous period of history have the labors of man been exerted so successfully and upon so rich a field. Yet this has not always conduced to our inward welfare and to our happiness. The nineteenth century has frequently employed man as a mere tool of labor—a labor the ceaseless onward movement of which leaves no time for contemplation and quiet enjoyment. Inward culture, also, has been retarded in consequence of our incessant search for outward successes. As soon as these defects became clearly visible, a pessimistic view of life naturally arose; and it is well known how widespread this spirit has become today among all civilized nations.

Now, although pessimism is not itself a phase of religion, it tends to destroy that complacency which is a dangerous foe of religion, thus preparing the way for the progress of the latter. The disappointments which the development of modern culture has produced have been instrumental in again awakening a susceptibility to religious influences. The great and complicated enterprises of our time also frequently reveal a painful absence of moral ideals; and herein lies still another reason for the greater prominence at present given to problems of morality. In Germany, as well as in other countries, a great change of conviction has been effected in this respect. Both the former epochs of German culture, the literary as well as the politico-national, treated the problem of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morality optimistically; both believed that the necessary moral strength would arise immediately from the actual labor of life; and both anticipated no difficult complications in this regard. Now, however, the moral problem has again arisen independently; and it has been demonstrated that the task of enlisting humanity in the cause of the truly good and great is not an easy one. Ethical training has again become imperative. Many hope for a strengthening of the moral nature by entirely dissolving the union between the latter and religion; while a far greater number, in Germany at least, expect results only from a revival and a reformation of religion.

Thus, both outward and inward causes combine in Germany to bring the problem of religion once more prominently into the foreground. But for the very reason that religion is now no longer regarded as a matter of tradition, as at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but as a vital and pressing mission, the traditional dogmas are beginning to be felt as painfully inadequate. This is true particularly in the case of the Protestant church, which still maintains the character of a Government institution, and as such appears rather to obstruct and to damage the true interests of religion. A close union between church and state may be appropriate where the conviction of the whole people centres in one common faith, and where no doubts or discords exist as to the essence of the creed. Where, however, powerful contrasts exist, and a new form arises and demands recognition, discords are sure to ensue when the state, which should protect the common interests of all, endeavors to champion a particular sect. This happens when the state clings to ancient traditions while great changes are arising and new tasks are being presented. Even to the older form of religion such favoritism on the part of the state would be detrimental, for the reasons that the self-reliance of the creed would be impaired and that its followers would often be actuated by considerations of personal advantage. In this way, infidelity and deception may be easily introduced into religious matters. Finally, it is a hindrance to normal development when the state gives greater prominence to any particular tendency than such tendency possesses in the conviction of the people and in the labors of science.

Now, it would seem likely that, in consequence of these palpable defects in the state religion, independent religious communities would arise. Externally there would be no obstacle to the formation of such organizations; for nobody is compelled to remain a member of the Government church. Why then do even those who painfully experience the shortcomings of their creed remain within this church? Because

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new principles are as yet too ill-defined to afford strong convictions and common aims. What greatly complicates the religious question in Germany is the fact that those who seek to preserve the traditional form in the midst of modern culture have no prospect of regaining the leadership of the nation, while those who seek to hold a modification of this form of religion, without sacrificing their culture, encounter insuperable difficulties in fixing the exact ideal toward which they are aiming. This uncertainty and incompleteness constitute the strongest support of the older order, which, despite its imperfections, is invincible as long as the above-mentioned conditions remain.

Let us investigate the difficulties that confront the new idea in religion. The pantheistic and optimistic views of life peculiar to the classical era have become somewhat unfamiliar to the German of to-day; but the desire, inherent in this philosophy and its great exponents, to establish a basis for religion within the soul of the individual, and to keep in touch with other spheres of activity, still remains. But will it be possible to preserve this striving for universality as a characteristic of religion? And can a religion which does not possess a distinctive and exclusive character, one which is not, so to speak, a matter apart, exert a potent influence upon life? Is it possible to unite religion with general culture in such a way that it will still preserve its independent character? During the nineteenth century a historical mode of investigation rapidly gained ground in Germany. Long before the theory of evolution had been introduced into the physical sciences, it had taken firm root in the purely intellectual spheres of scientific activity, and had thus exercised a powerful influence on religion. In this way, religion, also, was drawn into the great current of historical evolution, and its highest and noblest doctrines appeared as a part of the general development. At the same time there was applied to it a critical method of investigation which sought to illuminate tradition, to point out contrasts and discrepancies, to distinguish between earlier and later writings, and to disclose as gradual human inventions statements which had been long regarded as divine and eternal truths.

Within the last few decades this historical method of inquiry has inflicted more serious damage upon the finally accepted doctrines of tradition than ever resulted from the speculations of philosophy; and even orthodoxy has been forced to make concessions to the modern spirit herein exhibited. More important than the actual results achieved is the fact that it has become possible to subject to critical discussion matters long regarded as absolutely certain and inviolable. The situation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may well give rise to serious doubts. Will religion, while recognizing a progressive development, be able to preserve its eternal nature, and succeed in warding off a destructive relativism? Will historic criticism permit to remain intact those fundamental truths without which a religion is inconceivable? How great a task is here assigned to modern Christianity, which must undertake to clarify, to confirm, and to deepen new truths in order to present to humanity a tangible creed!

The relation of religion to the natural sciences also presents serious difficulties. The infinitude of the universe, the eternal laws which operate throughout nature, the natural evolution from organic forms, the dependence of the spiritual upon the corporeal existence — all these truths are rapidly spreading; and they are nowhere more frequently employed as controversial arguments by the adversaries of religion than in Germany. The faithful, on the other hand, maintain that these changes do not affect the kernel of religion, and that, by presenting a larger and grander view of life, they will in fact ultimately conduce to its progress. Nevertheless, the problem has become far more complicated; and great changes, both material and spiritual, will be necessary, in order that the new truths may be scientifically defensible and may carry with them a spiritual power of conviction.

The internal condition of religion is, therefore, in a state of incompleteness; and there are no indications of a speedy solution of the problems involved. But an earnest desire to effect such a solution is unmistakable, particularly as regards the theologians, who are conscientiously striving to bring about a compromise between the demands of religion and the essential truths of the new culture. It suffices to mention such names as Rothe, Hase, Biedermann, Lipsius, Ritschl, Pfleiderer, and Sulze — names respected in America also. Among philosophers, too, there is a desire to put an end to the unpleasant conflict.[1]

Despite these conflicts, both within and without the sphere of the church, it cannot be denied that religion, to-day, is a very powerful factor in German life. It is peculiar to the German to give particular emphasis to the emotional, the purely spiritual, element in religion — an element which opens a domain free from all doubt and speculation, one into which the individual may at all times withdraw to become conscious of an everlasting truth. Owing to the low estimate placed by the German on outward forms, the superficial observer may well be inclined to regard him as irreligious. A deeper glance, however, reveals great ear-

[1] The present writer has recently treated the philosophical aspect of the question in a work entitled "Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nestness and zeal, particularly in religious matters. The German papers recently published an expression of opinion on this subject by Bishop Bonemelli of Cremona, who, as chief pastor of the Italian workmen in Germany, has had excellent opportunities of comparing the religious conditions of that country with those of its neighbors. He lauds the earnestness of the divine service among both the Catholics and the Protestants of Germany, and in conclusion remarks that "the religious sentiment of the German people is deeper and more enduring than that of France, and far more powerful than that of Italy." Such is the opinion of a Catholic bishop on the relation of the various nations to religion.

With the Germans religion is not a matter of mere authority; nor does it constitute a separate and exclusive domain, inasmuch as it is regarded as the sole, the spiritual, essence of all life. This is the reason why the German places so much value upon freedom in religion, and why Germany became the land of the Reformation. But Catholicism also is deeper and more spiritual in Germany than among the Romanic nations. True, the desire for freedom is undoubtedly fraught with serious dangers, as it may easily lead to unsubstantiality and schisms. Yet this desire, after all, is but the expression of an earnest striving for truth. The great deeds formerly accomplished by the Germans in behalf of religion justify the hope that the nation will eventually solve the present problem, and that it will succeed in uniting liberal ideas with true spiritual zeal, thus conducing not only to its own welfare, but to that of humanity at large.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA.

In ancient times wars were waged for ambition or for conquest rather than to encourage trade or to open up new markets. They were made for the benefit of the military class which was dominant, and not for the good of the merchant, to whom, in those days, none did reverence. Consequently, the laws of war were framed to suit the convenience of the warrior, while the convenience of the merchant was not taken into consideration; for laws are made first for the benefit of those who make them, and for others as it may happen. No wonder, then, that the ancient laws of war treated the merchant's property with but little respect. His goods were ever at the mercy of the conqueror. But now the times are changed. Gradually the importance of commerce has increased until the spirit of trade has overcome the military spirit. The merchant is now the ruler, and the soldier is his servant.

Hence we should, perhaps, expect to find the laws of war utterly altered and made to suit the convenience of a mercantile age. This is not the case, however. It is true that the laws of war have been much improved, not only by the spirit of trade, but also by the general advancement of civilization and humanity. But the laws of nations change slowly. Times and manners change, and international law changes not with them, but after them. Consequently, the age is always more advanced than the law of nations. The great body of international law, like the common law, consists of precedent; hence, the unlearned age governs the more learned, because each generation takes its rules as they were laid down in an earlier and less developed stage of society. The law of nations follows civilization at a little distance, as a shallop follows in the wake of the ship to which it is attached. No principle ever becomes an international law until public sentiment is ready to receive it. And in this is shown one of the beauties of the law of nations; for by this system of evolution the law makes steady progress toward perfection, and is not subject to retrograde movements like those caused in the narrower field of domestic legislation by immature and ill-considered enactments.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In regard to the waging of war, the law of nations is following steadily in the wake of progress. On land the laws of war have been mitigated to a considerable extent. There was a time when "fire and sword" was a synonym for war, when prisoners were ruthlessly killed or converted into slaves, and when cities were pillaged; but these things have passed away. The law of nations now forbids the wanton destruction of life, and private property is respected as much as circumstances will permit. On the sea, too, the laws of war have been ameliorated, but not quite to the same extent. One of the most striking differences is that while on land the private property of enemies is considered exempt from capture, on the sea it is considered fair prize; and the capture of an inoffensive merchant's goods is to the navy a source of great delight and revenue. "Sweet is revenge," says Byron, "especially to women, Pillage to soldiers, prize money to seamen."

But it is not only, or principally, in the navy that supporters of this old custom are to be found. There are many grave and reverend signiors, worthy and upright pillars of the law of nations, who maintain that while it is an evil practice to take private property upon land, yet upon the sea it is a commendable custom, and most salutary in its effect. Certainly the custom of seizing private property at sea has the authority and sanction of antiquity; but, according to the Latin maxim, "it is a bad law which cannot be changed," and I may add that this law of plunder is a bad law which ought to be changed.

The seizure of private property at sea is lawful under present usage, but consideration of the matter will show that it is not expedient. Under this custom the commerce of both belligerent nations suffers. Ruin is brought upon hundreds of merchants on both sides, commerce is destroyed, the inhabitants of both countries are beggared by war prices—and to what end? It does not shorten the war or contribute materially to the victory. "If we look at the example of former periods," said Lord Palmerston, "we shall not find that any powerful country was ever vanquished by losses sustained by individuals." Even the destruction of an enemy's commerce without damage to our own profits nothing; for our modern theory of economics has demonstrated that a nation is made more prosperous by the prosperity of its neighbors, and that the impoverishment of one country brings financial depression upon others, even upon rivals and enemies. This truth is made the more evident as the peoples of the earth are drawn closer together by trade, by improvement in navigation, and by the cable. Demoralization in the financial centre of one country is quickly felt in the financial centres of the other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nations. The markets of the world are dependent upon each other. We have been taught to love our enemies, although we have not often put the precept into practice; we must now learn that a care for their material welfare is good policy as well as good morals.

Thus it may be seen that it would not be advantageous for a nation to destroy the property of an enemy's merchants, even if it could completely defend its own commerce. But no nation is powerful enough to guarantee complete immunity to its sea trade. The commerce of both belligerents must suffer, so that each sustains a double damage: a direct loss in its own commerce, in addition to an indirect loss through the needless impoverishment of the merchants of the enemy. The present international custom permitting seizure of private property at sea is a direct menace to the prosperity of every shipowner and of every merchant who ships his goods abroad. It is harmful financially and useless politically. Under different circumstances of life and of trade it was perhaps a useful instrument; but it is now out of date, and, like an ancient cannon, is as dangerous to those who attempt to make use of it as to those against whom it is directed. Commerce has at times made protests against this sword of Damocles above its head; but Commerce has not yet lifted its voice in imperious demand, as its importance would justify it in doing.

One cause of this apparent indifference on the part of shipowners is that, while they see that the law of seizure is ruinous to their own individual interests, they have a vague idea that for some occult reason the law is necessary to the state for political purposes. This idea is erroneous. The law of seizure serves no good purpose in the state. On the contrary, it is most pernicious in that it tends to destroy the commerce and wealth which uphold the state. Again, this apathy arises partly from the fact that seizure is a danger which has menaced commerce for so many centuries that merchants have come to look upon it as a natural phenomenon, which could be no more avoided than the tempests of the sea. Thus we find in bills of lading "the acts of God and of the King's enemies" joined together in the same category. The idea of a commercial peace coexisting with a political war is so novel that it has not impressed itself upon men's minds as a practical thing. It seems at first thought fantastic and chimerical; but upon examination it will be found that the idea is eminently practical. It is, indeed, the only practical system; for the present authorized destruction of private property is an impractical and useless waste. Slowly the world is beginning to realize this truth, and in a few instances Governments have tried

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the experiment of granting immunity to sea commerce in time of war. These experiments have been highly successful; but before discussing them it is well to look back and see the gradual improvement which has taken place in the position of commerce in regard to the law of nations.

In the earliest period there was no respect for private property on land in time of war, and there was equally little respect for it at sea. Wars were, as Seneca called them in his day, "magna latrocinia," or, as Dogberry would have put it, "flat burglary as ever was committed." In cases where an enemy's ship was found laden with enemy's goods, it naturally required but little time to decide whether it was fair prize or not.

But as the art of navigation progressed and sea trade increased, the capture of merchant vessels became a more delicate question. The ships of the enemy were sometimes found laden with the goods of a friend. To capture the cargo in such circumstances might arouse the anger of the friendly owner of the merchandise and the hostility of his Government. The first and most simple rule adopted was that an enemy's goods might be captured wherever found, but that the goods of a friend, that is to say of a neutral, should be exempt wherever found. The *Consolato del Mare*, one of the most ancient collections of sea laws, lays it down that the goods of an enemy may be captured and taken out of a neutral ship, but that the goods of a neutral must be respected, even when found under the flag of an enemy.

This was the general practice of the period, and the principle may be found not only in the *Consolato del Mare*, but also in treaties such as that between Pisa and Arles (1221), and the treaties made by Edward III with Biscaye (1351), with Castile (1351), and with the cities of Portugal (1353). It continued to be the ruling principle throughout Europe for several centuries, although sometimes more rigorous measures were adopted. The French ordinances of 1538, 1543, and 1584, for example, proceeded on the theory that everything which came in contact with an enemy became impregnated with the qualities of an enemy. Hence, these French laws declared that all goods, even a friend's, should be seized if found in an enemy's ship, and that all ships, even a friend's, should be seized, if engaged in carrying goods belonging to an enemy. Like many overstrict rules, these French ordinances seem to have been somewhat modified and infractions of them winked at in actual practice.

Certainly in those times the condition even of a neutral trader was not a thing to rejoice at. Whenever there was war — and there usually was war somewhere — the commerce of neutrals suffered as well as that



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the belligerents. If a neutral ship undertook to carry the goods of a merchant belonging to a belligerent nation, her cargo was in danger of capture. If she happened to fall in with a French cruiser, perhaps she herself would be confiscated under the rigorous French ordinances. In any case she was liable to considerable detention and inconvenience, besides the loss of her cargo. Consequently, there was little encouragement for a neutral to undertake to carry a belligerent's goods, and not much encouragement for a belligerent merchant to ship his goods under a neutral flag, which really granted no protection. Even if a neutral ship undertook to carry the goods of a neutral, she might be stopped, searched, and detained, and her cargo damaged, by one of the belligerents, under the pretence of searching for goods of the enemy.

This state of affairs was a great interruption and discouragement to commerce, and naturally caused dissatisfaction to shipowners and merchants. Were neutral states to suffer because their neighbors were so ill-advised as to fight? Because two nations were at war, were there to be no more cakes and ale for peaceful onlookers? Neutrals saw no reason why they should not carry on their commerce as in time of peace. They claimed that a neutral flag should protect the ship and all it contained. But law and custom were clearly adverse to the interests of neutrals. Belligerents even went so far as to forbid them to trade with the enemy at all — a command to which generally but little heed was paid. The doctrine of each nation varied somewhat according to circumstances. A nation at peace was usually an advocate of the rights of neutral trade; yet when this same nation went to war, it often came to disregard the rights of neutrals and to think only of those of belligerents. The practice was variable, and accommodated to the circumstances of the times rather than regulated by the perpetual maxims of equity.

Great trading peoples, such as the Dutch and the dwellers on the Baltic, sought relief from these stern laws which so hampered commerce, and they found a remedy in "special privileges," which granted to the holders of them the right to pass unmolested on the sea. The Hanseatic League led the way by obtaining special privileges for its flag from Charles VIII in 1464 and again in 1484, from Francis I in 1536, from Henry II in 1554, and from Henry IV in 1604. In 1615 it obtained from France, by treaty stipulation, the more formal and general acknowledgment that the flag of the Hanseatic League covered not only neutral goods but even the goods of enemies. This was a great step toward the enfranchisement of commerce. A few years later (1646) Holland also made a treaty with France, in which it was stipulated that the flags of each of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two high contracting parties should cover even the merchandise of enemies. Four years later France and Spain made a similar agreement.

Special privileges had formed the entering wedge for special treaties, and these treaties brought in a new principle, which was then considered an exception to the rules of war, but which was destined in its turn to supersede the old law and from an exception to be raised to the rank of a rule. This principle proceeded on the theory that a neutral ship is a piece of neutral territory, and that, therefore, goods on this movable piece of neutral territory are exempt from capture just as truly as if they were on the *terra firma* of any neutral Government; any attempt to capture such goods being as much a violation of the sovereignty of the neutral state in the one case as in the other. The new doctrine began to gain a considerable amount of headway about the middle of the seventeenth century. And here Holland, as befits the birthplace of Grotius, is found in the forefront of the battle for civilization, urging the rights of neutrals. Nieuport endeavored to obtain from Cromwell a recognition of the principle "Vry Schip, vry goed"; but he could not win the consent of the English Government. Nevertheless, the system was gradually growing in favor throughout the Continent of Europe. It was not always accepted as a principle, but it came to be rather generally adopted as a practice. From 1654 to 1780 France made fifteen treaties on the lines laid down by the *Consolato del Mare*, and thirty-six treaties on the new principle, which declared that free ships made free goods, and enemy's ships enemy's goods.

While this reform was winning its way on the Continent, England clung tenaciously to the old principle which gave her the right to strike at her enemy's commerce wherever found; yet even England embodied the new doctrine in some of her treaties. In the great Treaty of Utrecht the new principle was acknowledged, but not in such clear terms as might have been desired.

In the middle of the eighteenth century a mighty champion of neutral rights appeared in the person of Frederick the Great, who addressed to the Government of Great Britain a remonstrance against interference with neutral commerce. But England would not recede from her position, and — by command of the King — Sir George Lee, Dr. Paul, Sir Dudley Ryder, and Mr. Murray (afterward Lord Mansfield) prepared a reply to Frederick's argument, sturdily maintaining England's ancient right, as set forth in the *Consolato del Mare*, to seize her enemy's goods wherever found. Frederick did not succeed in teaching England the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new manners, but another monarch was about to arise in the East who should give her some rude lessons. About 1780 the Empress Catherine became the champion of the new principle, which gave to neutrals the right to carry the goods of the enemy under protection of a neutral flag. In vain the British ambassador, Lord Malmesbury, tried to dissuade her from what he was pleased to call "a fantastical idea," unwarranted by the law of nations. Catherine wished to build up her commerce, and she was determined to support the revised system under which alone commerce could flourish.

Her opportunity came when two Russian ships were seized by Spain off Gibraltar. The Empress could be held back no longer. On February 28, 1780, she issued her famous proclamation setting forth the principle that the flag of a neutral covers the cargo. The northern Courts immediately rallied to Russia, and thus was formed the Armed Neutrality — a neutral league for the protection of commerce under neutral flags. The doctrine which had appeared some centuries earlier as a privilege and an exception had now become the doctrine accepted by the majority of nations. The young nation across the western seas, which was then in the midst of its struggle for existence, welcomed the proclamation of Catherine; and its Congress passed a resolution declaring its approval of the new regulations "founded upon principles of justice, equity, and moderation." England alone of the great nations held to the old principle. Her powerful navy had enabled her to inflict terrible destruction upon her enemy, while at the same time she had been able to protect her own trade by a system of convoy. But even England was forced to modify her practice somewhat, in view of this armed alliance of neutral powers ready to defend their trade. This great step in international law and in civilization had been brought about by the energetic action of the Empress of Russia, that country whose rulers have since done so much for humanity and for the law of nations.

Yet the new doctrine was not even then firmly established, for it had not received the sanction of the greatest maritime power — England. That sanction was not given until the middle of the nineteenth century, when England and France, being about to enter upon the Crimean War as allies, found it necessary to agree upon a rule for the conduct of their navies. The two nations had held opposing views. France had adopted the new doctrine, "Free ships, free goods; enemy's ships, enemy's goods." In other words, she did not consider the ownership of the goods themselves, but deemed them fair prize or not according to the flag which waved above them. England, on the contrary, had maintained the old

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctrine, paying no heed to the flag, but looking only at the ownership of the goods, in determining whether they were seizable or not.

The rule adopted by the two countries was a compromise. England waived the "right pertaining to her by the law of nations" to seize enemy's goods under neutral flags, and France gave up her right to seize neutral goods under an enemy's flag — a fortunate compromise which retained the best portions of two systems.

This agreement was made in 1854. Two years later at a meeting in Paris of the plenipotentiaries of the powers it was put into the form of a "Declaration." This paper, usually known as the Declaration of Paris, sets forth that it is useful to establish a uniform doctrine, in view of the fact that maritime rights in time of war have been the object of "regrettable contestations," and that the uncertainty of the rights and duties in similar circumstances gives opportunity for differences of opinion which may cause serious difficulties and even conflicts.

The rules established by the Declaration are:

(1) Privateering is and remains abolished.

(2) The neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

(3) Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.

(4) Blockades in order to be binding must be effective.

These principles were adopted by all the great powers of Europe with the exception of Spain, and by the principal countries of America, excepting the United States, Venezuela, and Mexico.

From the foregoing rapid sketch it will be seen that in the early days of navigation the laws of war bore heavily upon commerce. About the fifteenth century a glimmer of light penetrated the darkness when Holland and the cities of Germany obtained privileges for their flags. Gradually civilization and her handmaiden, commerce, won recognition of their rights, through privileges, through treaties, through the proclamation of Catherine, and through the Declaration of Paris. During all those centuries a slow but very substantial mitigation was taking place in the laws of war as applied to sea trade. As that mitigated practice received the sanction of time, it was raised from the rank of mere usage and became part of the law of nations.

The laws promulgated by the Declaration of Paris have remained the laws of the sea from that day to this; but the law of nations cannot stand still. It constantly presses forward to higher things. There is another step to be made in perfecting the law of the sea. The world

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has gradually been preparing itself for the new development; and it seems that the time is at hand for formally accepting a new law, which shall declare the complete immunity of private property at sea in time of war as in time of peace, under an enemy's flag as well as under a neutral flag. For more than a century this principle of complete immunity has been making steady progress, and it must soon take the place of the present law, in the same way in which the present law took the place of its more ancient and less perfect predecessor. One of the earliest suggestions for the complete immunity of private property at sea was made by the Abbé de Mably, about the middle of the eighteenth century. A few years later the idea was warmly supported by such writers as Galiani, Linguet, and Azuni. The principle commended itself strongly to Franklin, who asked:

"Why should not the law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps; but, as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to as the future law of nations that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in surety?"

The list which he drew up included cultivators of the earth, fishermen, artists, mechanics, and "merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life." He continued by arguing that "if rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting."

Again we find him trying to secure in the treaty with England the insertion of an article neutralizing the sugar islands and abolishing privateering — the principal source of destruction of private property at sea. He writes to Hartley:

"Try, my friend, what you can do in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage which that power seems to give them of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families."

But his words fell on barren ground in England, which was not willing at that time to relinquish even the right to seize goods under a neutral flag. Franklin did not abandon the principle, however, and he succeeded in inserting it in our first treaty with Prussia in 1785.

In France the doctrine was looked upon with favor. M. de Versaint in 1792 presented to the National Assembly a *projet de loi* having

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as its object the abolition of the seizure of private property at sea. In accordance with this decree the French Government proposed to the powers that negotiations be opened for the attainment of that object; but the United States of America alone returned a favorable reply. Some years later the Emperor Napoleon expressed the desire that the time might come when the liberal principles practised on land should be extended to the sea, and when the fleets of two powers should fight their battles without giving rise to the capture of merchant ships. It may be imagined, however, that British naval supremacy at that time had something to do with this benevolent desire on the part of the great conqueror. The idea continued to gain adherents, but was not put into practice until after Napoleon had passed from the scene and the House of Bourbon had been restored. This was in 1823, when, at the beginning of the French intervention in Spain, France proclaimed that she would not issue commissions to privateers or capture Spanish merchant ships except in case of breach of blockade.

This noble and enlightened action on the part of France animated the Government of the United States with a desire to see the rule adopted as one of the laws of nations; and the President instructed the Ministers at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg to open negotiations for that purpose.

In his Message to Congress in December, 1823, Mr. Monroe said:

"At the commencement of the recent war between France and Spain, it was declared by the French Government that it would grant no commissions to privateers, and that neither the commerce of Spain herself nor of neutral nations should be molested by the naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration, which appears to have been faithfully carried into effect, concurring with principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States from the first establishment of their independence, suggested the hope that the time had arrived when the proposal for adopting it as a permanent and invariable rule in all future maritime wars might meet the favorable consideration of the great European powers."

In response to the American proposal the Emperor of Russia authorized Count Nesselrode to say that "as soon as the powers whose consent he considers indispensable shall have shown the same disposition he will not be wanting in authorizing his ministers to discuss the different articles of an act which will be a crown of glory to modern diplomacy." Unfortunately, the other powers showed no disposition to adopt the rule.

The Declaration of Paris, in 1856, gave the United States another opportunity to revive the subject. This Government heartily approved the rules set forth in that Declaration as to the immunity of neutral goods under an enemy's flag and of enemy's goods under a neutral flag; but in view of the fact that its regular navy was small, it thought it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impolitic to give up the right to augment it by privateers unless the other powers should agree to grant complete immunity to all private property at sea. If the right of capture was to be retained at all, the United States wished to retain also the only means by which it could effectively retaliate upon a great maritime power. It therefore once more brought forward the same proposal which Franklin had made in the infancy of the Republic, namely, that privateering and the seizure of private property should both be abolished.

The proposal was well received, especially by Russia, France, and Holland. Prince Gortchakoff said that the American Secretary of State had not spoken in the interest of the United States alone, but that he had defended the interests of all the nations; that the adoption of the principle would crown the work of pacification and give an additional guarantee of the duration of peace. Even the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared it an "equitable principle." But the question was allowed to drop, and no conference was held to discuss the subject. Although no definite result was obtained, the proposal served to stimulate consideration of the subject, and to make the principle more familiar to statesmen as well as to merchants, and thus to hasten its ultimate adoption.

The question was brought up in the British Parliament by Mr. Lindsay, an important shipowner; and the Merchant Shipping Committee, of which he was a member, reported it to be desirable that all property not contraband of war should be respected. The Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Belfast, Hull, and Gloucester declared themselves in favor of the immunity of private property, and sent deputations to Lord Palmerston. In 1862 Cobden supported another motion in the House of Commons for the same purpose. Similar discussions took place in the legislative chambers of the Continent, and similar resolutions were passed by the continental boards of trade. Not only were several motions introduced in the British Parliament, but in 1860 England put in practice the principle of immunity in the war with China.

At the beginning of the war of 1866 Austria declared the exemption from capture of all private property at sea, upon condition that the enemy should adopt the same rule. Prussia and Italy complied. In 1870 the King of Prussia issued a similar declaration in regard to French ships; but as France preferred to exercise her right of capture, the Prussian ordinances were revoked.

In the following year the United States of America and Italy entered into a treaty, the twelfth article of which declared that, in the event of war between the high contracting parties, "the private property

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party." Six years later Italy incorporated the principle in her statute laws, and decreed the immunity of private property at sea in all wars in which the enemy should adopt similar measures.

The doctrine has thus advanced with great rapidity during the past century. From an apparently impractical and romantic idea it has developed into a principle in actual practice. The next step should be the formal acceptance of the principle as one of the laws of nations.

At the Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1899 the United States again proposed to the powers the abolition of the capture of private property at sea. The Hon. Andrew D. White presented the American view, and the proposal was warmly supported by the Dutch delegation; but the Conference decided that the question should be left for consideration at some future time.

The chief opposition to the universal adoption of this new law will come from Great Britain. English ideas in regard to the question of maritime war have been most conservative. For centuries England clung tenaciously to the old laws of the *Consolato del Mare*, in spite of the strong current of opinion in favor of the more enlightened doctrine which declared that the flag covered the cargo. Now that she has accepted that doctrine, she is reluctant to abandon it for the still more liberal principle of complete immunity. One of the English arguments against the proposed law is the so-called doctrine of humanity, which was very clearly expressed by Sir Walter Phillimore at the meeting of the International Law Association at Rouen last year. He said:

> "One object is to make war more humane, to diminish the sufferings of the combatants and the losses of the private citizen. No doubt many a citizen is brought to ruin by the confiscation of his property whether on sea or land. For this reason we should like to procure the immunity of private property. But a greater object is to prevent war, and, as a corollary, to bring to a speedy close any war that does break out. Experience shows that the fear of loss and the fact of loss are both powerful to prevent war and to bring about a speedy return of peace. More lives will be saved, fewer citizens will be maimed, if private property be seized and destroyed."

What shall we say, then? Is our civilization a failure? Shall we return to our ancestors' barbarous code, in order to make war more terrible and by this means to shorten it? If the "fear of loss and the fact of loss are both powerful to prevent war and to bring about a speedy return of peace," why should we not make that loss the greater by burning and pillaging cities and by confiscating private property on land?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moreover, why did we abolish privateering, which is now dead in the eyes of international law, but which was formerly one of the greatest sources of destruction to private property at sea? It is by no means an admitted fact that the destruction of property is a factor in shortening the duration of war. I have quoted Lord Palmerston's denial of the proposition, but a more convincing witness than Lord Palmerston is history. What great nation has ever succumbed on account of commercial losses? Napoleon was not overthrown by the commercial losses of the French merchants, but by the battle of Waterloo. In the American Civil War the Confederate commerce was blockaded at every port, but it was the victory of the Union army which decided the contest. Capture of private property inflicts a severe loss usually upon both nations, but it does not appreciably contribute to the decision of the struggle.

There is another consideration which has more weight with Englishmen. For centuries England has been the greatest maritime power. In her wars with France she destroyed the commerce of her enemy and added millions of tons to her own merchant marine. "Her rulers and people became convinced," says Lawrence, "that it was far more important to her to retain the liberty of striking at the enemy's merchantmen than to secure the safety of her own." But things are not now as they were in the days of Napoleon. Then England could seize her enemy's goods even under a neutral flag, and she could protect her own commerce by a system of convoys. Now, under the rules to which England gave her formal sanction in 1856, the enemy's commerce will be safe from harm if shipped in neutral vessels. England might drive from the ocean the commercial flag of her enemy, but the enemy's commerce would go on in neutral ships.

On the other hand, British commerce is now so largely and so widely spread abroad over the globe that England can no longer effectively protect it as she could at the beginning of the last century. A single cruiser of the enemy could inflict enormous loss upon British sea trade. An illustration of this was seen in the American Civil War, when the *Alabama*, although built, equipped, and maintained under great difficulties, destroyed millions of dollars' worth of commerce. Trade is a timid creature, and the fear of capture would be enough to compel merchants to ship their goods in neutral vessels. The simple question of insurance rates would almost prohibit shipments under the British flag, and consequently British shipowners would have to tie up their ships at the docks or transfer them to neutral flags. If private property were exempt from capture, this unfortunate state of affairs would not be brought about. In

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

view of the fact that the British commercial fleet is many times as large as that of France, the tying up of her commerce would alone make the immunity of private property much more valuable to England than to France, in the event — *absit omen* — of a conflict between them.

But this is not all. England, on account of her insular position, depends entirely upon sea carriage for her commerce and even for her food. As for the Continental powers, it is not so with them. They can in case of necessity import their supplies by land. During the blockade of German ports in 1870, Germany was able to continue her commerce and receive her supplies, with a very small amount of inconvenience, across her land frontiers. England is entirely dependent upon the sea. It is true that she could still import in neutral ships; but, as M. de Laveleye has said, "as neutrals would not be able to transport the amount of goods which is now carried by the English merchant marine, the exports and imports necessary to the industrial life of England would be notably affected."

Englishmen have thought that they could protect certain sea routes for commerce under their own flag. It would be a bold merchant who would venture his goods in such an argosy, even assuming that insurance rates were not prohibitory, as an incident which happened a few months ago will illustrate. It is said that in the recent manœuvres of the British fleet the defending squadron was unable to protect the food routes, and that the attacking squadron captured in a few days over 130 merchantmen, including a P. & O. steamer.

Of course, even if private property were exempt from capture, there would still remain the danger that England's adversary would declare breadstuffs contraband of war, and under this pretext seize British supplies and endeavor to starve the English. This danger can be avoided, however. If the great maritime powers, by unanimous consent, declare private property exempt from capture, with the exception of contraband, they should by the same act define contraband and give a list thereof. Such a list, of course, would not include breadstuffs.

Although England holds back from accepting the doctrine of complete immunity of private property, there is no country which would benefit more by it, or any which stands to lose more by the present practice of capture. Her sea commerce is the largest, the most dispersed, and hence the most vulnerable. In case of war, she would not only be in danger of losing her immense carrying trade but, on account of her position, she would be unable to import sufficient material for her manufactures. Ruin would be brought not only upon her shipowners, but also

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon all her industries. Thousands of men would be thrown out of employment at the very moment when the cost of living was increased on account of the difficulties in importing the necessaries of life. If, however, private property were exempt from capture, British shipping and British industries would flourish in time of war as well as in time of peace. The British fleet would be free to occupy itself in protecting the ports of England, of India, and of the Colonies, instead of spending its time in a vain endeavor to guard the food routes, and to protect that enormous British commerce which is much too large and much too dispersed for any navy to guard effectively. England has become a mighty sea power under the old rule, but the conditions are changed; and as conditions change, policies must be changed to accord with them.

The new doctrine should commend itself to England on account of its practical benefit, as well as on account of its humanity and its accordance with the sentiments of modern civilization. Nearly all the other nations are already well disposed toward the proposed exemption.

The United States in her early years espoused the cause of neutral rights, and used physical force as well as moral influence to make the seas more free to peaceful commerce. On three occasions she has formally proposed the exemption of private property from capture at sea. Holland, the cradle of international law, has always been a champion of neutral rights; and at the Peace Conference, two years ago, her delegates supported the American proposition. France should also look upon the new rule with favor. It was practised by her in 1823 and in 1860, and it is in accordance with those traditions which made France such an important factor in the Armed Neutrality. Germany, too, has shown her desire to contribute to the amelioration of naval warfare. Frederick stood forward as an advocate of neutral rights in his day; and in our own time the great Founder of the German Empire proclaimed the immunity of private property at sea in the war with France. Italy has already accepted the doctrine, and formally incorporated it in her laws and in her treaties. Spain and Austria have both put the rule in practice. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have stood traditionally for the freedom of commerce. The rulers of Russia have always shown themselves champions of reform in international customs. The Empress Catherine, with her Armed Neutrality, effected one of the most important improvements ever made in maritime law; and the present Emperor, by his well-known sentiments of humanity, has shown himself ready to take that further step which, as his ancestor said through Count Nesselrode, will set a "crown of glory on modern diplomacy."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the rulers and governors of the earth have much to occupy their attention. Many important questions are always upon the council table, and the councillors must needs take up first those matters which seem most practical and urgent. Such subjects as the immunity of private property at sea are neglected as idealistic. As long as this subject is presented simply as an academic question or as a dream of the humanitarian, it must necessarily be neglected by Governments. The question, however, has a most practical and material side. It is a question which interests directly and financially thousands of people in every country. It is of vital importance to those who go down to the sea in ships, and to those who occupy their business in great waters. It appeals not only to every shipowner, but also to every merchant whose goods are shipped upon the sea, to every farmer whose grain is sent abroad, to every manufacturer who sells to a foreign market, and to every banker who is dependent upon the prosperity of his countrymen.

The reform cannot be brought about by theorists alone. The Governments must be convinced that the reform is desired and needed by shipowners, merchants, and others directly and materially interested. If commerce demands the reform, Governments will take the matter in hand. Commerce, even British commerce, very decidedly expressed its approval of the principle of exemption about the time of the Declaration of Paris. But the idea was too new then; and "as a stranger it was more admired and less favored." It was looked upon with suspicion by Governments. Since that time much has happened. The world has become familiar with the principle of immunity. Governments have actually put it into practice, and have seen that it is good. Commerce has increased in size and in importance, and its future development requires the reform. Not only have the Governments and the people become prepared to receive the new principle, but commerce has become powerful enough to demand it. What is needed now is united effort on the part of shipowners, as well as boards of trade and similar bodies, in each nation. The present writer is about to take steps with a view to forming an international committee, the object of which shall be to secure the joint action of commercial bodies and of great financiers in petitioning their respective Governments to endeavor to secure the consent of the powers to a new law, which shall make all private property at sea exempt from capture in time of war as in time of peace. The adoption of this principle will be not only a crown of glory to modern diplomacy, but also the Magna Charta of commerce. JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE SPANISH TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION: A REJOINDER.

In the August number of The Forum a remarkable article appears on "The Spanish Treaty Claims Commission" from the pen of Mr. José Ignacio Rodriguez. Its first sentence runs thus:

> "Under the rather infelicitous name of 'The Spanish Treaty Claims Commission,' a new official organization has been started in Washington purporting to have for its object the adjudication and settlement of a certain class of claims of citizens of the United States against Spain."

Why infelicitous? Because, says the author of the article, it fails to express the real functions of the Commission, or to define the limits of its jurisdiction. He asserts that it is not a "court," as it assumes to be, but a mere "board of audit," and that under the title it assumes it can take jurisdiction of claims against Spain under any treaty we have ever made with that power — as, for instance, the treaty of 1819 for the acquisition of Florida, or that of February 17, 1834, providing for certain claims and indemnities. It might even refer to any treaty between Spain and any other power! Equally far-fetched is the contention, which is really an attack upon Congress and the President rather than upon the Commission, that the claims are not definitely located; that they might be in the Philippines, in Porto Rico, or in Spain herself, not in Cuba at all. The language of article VII of the treaty — "all claims that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba (February 24, 1895), and prior to exchange of ratifications of the present treaty (April 11, 1899)" — identifies the claims to be adjudicated as arising during the insurrection in Cuba, and by implication excludes all others. This is a sufficient identification of the claims.

In view of the express language of the act of March 2, 1901, and of the debates in Congress pending the treaty, the contention that the Commission was intended as a "board of audit," not a "court," is wholly untenable. The act provides, in substance, that the Commission shall have jurisdiction to receive, examine, and adjudicate all claims of citizens of the United States against Spain which the United States agreed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to adjudicate and settle by article VII of the treaty of December 10, 1898, according to the merits of the several cases, and the principles of equity and international law. If this is not a judicial tribunal, what is it? It is precisely of the same class as all Commissions for like purposes that have preceded it. The first was the Commission of three persons which was appointed under the treaty with Spain of February 22, 1819, to pass on the claims of citizens of the United States against Spain, and which Chief Justice Marshall, in a case before him, recognized as a "competent tribunal of exclusive jurisdiction to whose decrees the parties were bound."[1] It is similar to that appointed under the treaty with Mexico in 1848, to ascertain the validity and amount of claims of citizens of the United States against Mexico; to that appointed to adjust claims for and against Chili; and to the Mixed Commission under the Washington Treaty of 1871. All these were purely judicial in character and were clothed with the authority of courts of law.

The act of March 2, 1901 (Sections 4 and 5), authorizes the Commission to make all necessary rules and regulations of practice and procedure; to appoint a clerk, messengers, stenographers, typewriters, and interpreters, as well as commissioners to take testimony in such cases as might be brought before it. There is absolutely nothing in the act of March 2, 1901, or in the debates of Congress, to show that this Commission was intended as a "board of audit." The treaty might have demanded a gross sum from Spain to pay these claims, and Congress might have created a board of audit to distribute it; but nothing of the kind was done. Congress might have limited the claims to those on file in the State Department, providing for the completion of the claims upon the testimony filed, or might have referred them to a board of audit for this purpose; but neither of these courses was taken. On the contrary, when propositions were made in Congress to accept the testimony on file in the State Department for the use of the Commission, they were rejected; showing plainly that it was the policy and intention of Congress to make no discrimination, but to remit all the cases to this Commission to examine and adjudicate them on their merits as in a court of law or equity.

The original bill for the establishment of this Commission contained a provision that the reports, records, and other documents in these cases on file in the Department of State, amounting in all to $38,000,000, should be furnished to the Commissioners on their order, to be given "such weight as evidence as the Commission might think just." The

[1] Comegys vs. Vosse. 1 Pet. 212.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

latter clause was struck out, and the bill as passed simply provided that these records might be sent to the Commission upon its own motion, or at the request of claimants or of the attorney representing the United States before the Commission. It would have been monstrous to take such material as *ex parte* affidavits and certified copies of documents, without any cross-examination or other means for getting at the truth as to the merits of the claims, and then to send it to the Commission as evidence. But even if that provision had been retained in the bill it would not have sustained the position of Mr. Rodriguez, because the Commission was not directed to accept the evidence as final proof of the claims, but was only to give it such weight as the Commission might deem proper.

Mr. Rodriguez insists that this Commission differs from all that have preceded it; the responsibility in the case of Spain, under the treaty of 1819, being limited to $5,000,000, and that of Mexico, under the treaty of 1848, being limited to $3,250,000. And in all the other cases — such as the distribution of the $80,000 *Virginius* indemnity, and of the $15,500,000 of the Geneva award — it was limited to the amounts paid in cash by Spain and Great Britain, respectively, while in the case of Spain under the treaty of 1898 no limits have been fixed. "It might be $16,000,000; it might be $40,000,000; it might be still more." What of that? If Spain really owed our citizens $100,000,000 on April 11, 1899, the United States has undertaken to pay it, and that is the end of the matter. It does not affect the principle in the least.

Here is an orderly tribunal — created by statute in pursuance of solemn treaty stipulations, and composed of five gentlemen of distinguished ability and learning, with a competent corps of assistants — whistled down the wind and characterized as a "new official organization started in Washington, purporting" to pass on certain claims, with no reason for its existence except by some mysterious process of self-evolution; a "monstrosity" sent into this breathing world half-finished and made up, and that so lamely that cynical critics "bark at it as it halts by them."

The writer of the article thinks that there is no power in the Commission to start each case "*de novo*, as if nothing had been done in it during the diplomatic discussion which preceded the war." He argues that as a "board of audit" it should take up the cases in the condition in which they stood in the State Department at the moment the Commission was organized and began its labors, because the State Department is the exclusive diplomatic organ of the Government, and what it did cannot be reviewed by any other Department or Commission with-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out official discourtesy. It would seem unnecessary to remind a "Doctor of Civil and Canonical Law" that war suspends all diplomacy and closes its channels, unless the treaty of peace has determined differently. The claims in the State Department fell to the ground the moment war was declared against Spain; and it was quite proper for the United States, as the sovereign, acting on behalf of its citizens, to take the cases out of the channel of diplomacy and refer them to this Commission for final adjudication. The United States had a perfect right to exonerate Spain, as a mark of "signal generosity" or for any other reason, from the payment of all claims of its citizens upon the conquered foe, and to assume the settlement of these claims itself — not at all an unusual thing in our history. This implies the right to determine the mode by which all asserted claims shall be adjudicated and the amount of them ascertained. Mr. Rodriguez complains that great injustice is done to claimants, who had prepared their cases and filed them in the State Department, by requiring them to proceed *de novo*. If the claims are honest and valid, no injustice can occur by the transfer to the Commission; but if none but claims pending in the State Department at the time the treaty was ratified could be considered, what would have become of other claimants, perhaps more numerous and with claims larger in amount, who had not prepared their cases for diplomatic action? They would have been without remedy as the treaty now stands.

The greatest "discourtesy" imaginable not to the State Department, but to two Presidents of the United States, Cleveland and McKinley, was proposed by Mr. Rodriguez himself. He says he wanted the Commission to adopt as "a guiding principle" a theory he formulated before them. This was for the Commission to recognize the "belligerent rights" of the Cubans during the insurrection — a view which, if adopted by the Commission, would have eliminated, he says, at least two-thirds of the cases from the docket. No doubt; and, as it would perhaps have involved some of his own cases before the Commission, his proposition certainly showed a commendable zeal to promote the interests of his adopted country. Of course, if "belligerent rights" had been recognized during the insurrection in Cuba, the insurgents would not have been a lawless "mob" for whose actions Spain was responsible under international law, and no claims could have originated. Both parties being "belligerents," the necessities of war would have relieved them from responsibility; for this excuses one or the other of the adherents of either power in the violation of the rights of person and property. What a scheme of vast economies!



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The idea was not adopted, he says, because "the learned ex-congressman who represents the Attorney-General's office before the Claims Commission" threatened to "pack up his books and return to his home in the West" if the proposition found favor. Certainly a very unsatisfactory reason for a wise Commission to throw away an opportunity to save perhaps millions of money to the Government. There must have been other reasons for the action not disclosed by the paper in THE FORUM. Perhaps Mr. Rodriguez did not fully unbosom himself before the learned Commission, but from the tenor of his article he was evidently impressed with the idea that this was an instance of the irony of fate. He knew the honorable President of the Commission was an enthusiastic advocate of the recognition of "belligerent rights" for the Cubans in the Senate, and believed that by applying that doctrine in this case he might perform an important public service! But the ex-senator in his new capacity did not seem to share this feeling.

It would appear that Mr. Rodriguez wishes to fight the war over again, to fix its causes more definitely, and to settle the terms of peace. He goes back to "the memorable day on which Spain, the lawful sovereign of Cuba, was ordered by the United States to vacate her own territory," and wants to discuss "constitutional law and political science" to see "by what legal authority the President forced Spain to dismember her territory in favor of the United States." The President did nothing of the kind. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy he simply obeyed the will of Congress; and, as a part of the treaty-making power, he participated in settling the terms of peace by the Paris Treaty. The causes and conduct of the war with Spain have passed into history; and, without discussing them here, it is safe to say that no war ever fought will better stand the test of the scrutiny of the ages.

But I must take issue with the writer when he argues that the claims of citizens of the United States constituted the cause or any part of the cause of that war. It does not so appear from the diplomatic correspondence before the war, or from the resolution declaring war, or from the discussions in the Conference of Paris. There is a hazy intimation in Mr. Rodriguez's article that the Spanish negotiators at Paris regarded the cession of Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, together with Guam in the Ladrones, as being in consideration, at least in part, of the relinquishment of the American claims; but that did not make them a *casus belli*. Relinquishment having been determined on from motives of generosity, the American negotiators may have borne in mind the existence of those claims when considering the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question of indemnity for the costs of the war. It was perfectly proper for them to do so, and yet to leave it as a question between the United States and its citizens, with which Spain had nothing to do. There was certainly no expression on the subject in the treaty, except what appears in articles II and VII; and if the American negotiators ever gave assurance to the Spaniards, as Mr. Rodriguez says, that it should appear on record that the relinquishment was in consideration of the cession, that record was not made.

On the theory that Spain has paid these American claims by cession of territory, Mr. Rodriguez contends that "the only thing to be done now by the United States in relation to them is to assess to each claimant in money the particular share which belongs to him of the lump sum disbursed by Spain in the shape of territory and sovereign rights." It would be interesting to see by what process this result could be accomplished. The $15,500,000 of the Geneva award and the $80,000 indemnity in the case of the *Virginius* were distributed among claimants without any difficulty; but what territory of the ceded islands would be converted into cash, what amount would be paid to these American claimants, and how would Mr. Rodriguez determine and distribute those "sovereign rights" which he says Spain parted with? The proposition is absolutely wild.

Mr. Rodriguez undoubtedly lays down a correct legal proposition when he says that the Government is as much bound to indemnify its citizens for claims used to purchase territory as for houses and lands taken for a public purpose. The trouble is in the application of the principle. It will first be necessary for Mr. Rodriguez to show that the relinquishment by the United States of the claims of its citizens upon Spain was, in whole or in part, the consideration for the cession of the Spanish territories. This has not been done, and cannot be done. The $20,000,000 paid to Spain for the transfer of her sovereignty over the Philippines to the United States was to relieve the transaction of the feature of conquest. The acquisition of Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, except Cuba, and of the island of Guam was by conquest pure and simple, without the least element of purchase.

The author of the article makes another contention in which he is not alone, respecting a question upon which I believe the honorable commissioners are not agreed; namely, whether the Commission has power to send its officers to Cuba to take testimony, and to have witnesses punished for perjury, under the laws now existing. I believe it is intended to apply to Congress for such amendments to the act of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

March 2, 1901, as will remove all embarrassment on this subject. I have never doubted that the Commission has this power under the law as it now stands, and that there is no need of any further legislation to take testimony or to punish for perjury.

The theory on which rests the argument against the power to take testimony in Cuba is, that Cuba is a "foreign country," and that the only way to take testimony is through letters rogatory under section 875 of the Revised Statutes, as the courts of the United States do, when witnesses reside in foreign countries. Letters rogatory would be an impracticable and unsatisfactory method of taking the testimony in the cases brought before this Commission. It would be impossible to frame interrogatories in advance to cover the various items of claims; and to detect fraud and collusion would require the presence of an officer on the ground to make investigation of the nature of the claims and of the character and reliability of the claimants and their witnesses.

It is true that the Supreme Court did hold in the Neely case (180 U. S.) that within the meaning of the amendment of section 5720 of the Revised Statutes in regard to extradition and for the purposes of the act of June 6, 1901, "Cuba is a foreign country." But there is no intimation anywhere in the decision that it was not competent for Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the government of the island pending the military occupation, or that it cannot do so now, or that it could not extend any law of the United States to the island, prior to the surrender of the sovereignty to the people of Cuba. The relation of Cuba to the United States is peculiar, but not mysterious. There has been so much false law applied to it, and so much misconception of the facts, that it has become as intricate as the celebrated Schleswig-Holstein question.

What is a foreign country? As defined by Judge Story and by the Supreme Court of the United States, "a foreign country is one exclusively within the sovereignty of a foreign nation, and without the sovereignty of the United States."[1] The status of Cuba depends, therefore, on where the sovereignty resides. Before the Paris Treaty that sovereignty was in Spain; and Cuba, being a dependency of Spain, was of course a "foreign country." But Spain relinquished her sovereignty by the treaty. Where did it go? Sovereignty must exist somewhere in the case of any country. It cannot be suspended in the air, like Mahomet's coffin. It did not go to Cuba, for neither Spain nor the United States recognized Cuba as an independent power; nor was that island a

[1] U. S. vs. Rice, 4 Wheat. 247, and Fleming vs. Page, 9 How. 614.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

party to the treaty by which the sovereignty was relinquished. The sovereignty of necessity went to the United States. It is said that nature abhors a vacuum. It may be as truly said that the law despises an absurdity.

The confusion results from certain resolutions of Congress, by which a "trust" relation was established. Justice Harlan in the Neely case puts the matter thus:

> "It is true that as between Spain and the United States — indeed as between the United States and all foreign nations — Cuba, upon the cessation of hostilities with Spain and after the Treaty of Paris, was to be treated as if it was a conquered territory. But as between the United States and Cuba that island is territory held in trust for the inhabitants of Cuba, to whom it rightfully belongs and to whose exclusive control it will be surrendered when a stable government shall have been established by their voluntary action."

The nature and extent of sovereignty are not changed by its being held "in trust." That relation is purely political and contingent. It is unknown to international law, and there is no power anywhere to enforce it. If the Cubans prove themselves incapable of forming or maintaining a "stable" government — of which matter the United States must be the judge — the sovereignty will remain in the United States, and it can deal with Cuba in the same way as with any of its territories. The experiment is soon to be tried, but until the withdrawal of the United States the power of legislation over the island is complete. Even if Cuba succeeds in establishing a stable government under her proposed constitution she will not possess absolute sovereignty. With the Platt amendments the suzerainty will remain in the United States, in a somewhat similar way to that of Great Britain over the so-called Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa, as established by the conventions of 1881 and 1884.

Upon assuming the position of Military Governor, General Brooke issued a proclamation to the effect that the plans of the President for the pacification of the island would be carried out through channels of civil administration under military control. He accordingly ordered on January 11, 1899, that this civil government should be administered by four departments, known as Departments of (1) State and Government, (2) Finance, (3) Justice and Public Instruction, and (4) Agriculture, Commerce, etc., each in the charge of a secretary. To these were transferred the various bureaus as they existed under Spanish rule. Subsequently he established a Supreme Court for the island, composed of a Chief Justice and six associates, as well as inferior courts for civil

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and criminal matters. Under date of July 21, 1899, he promulgated a code known as the postal code, regulating postal affairs in Cuba. It provided for the appointment of a Director-General of Posts who should have control and management of the Department of Posts, defining numerous criminal offences and affixing the punishment of each. One of the offences charged against Neely was included in this postal code; the other offence charged against him was embraced in the penal code of the island which was in force when the war broke out, and which, by the order of the Military Governor, still remained in force. That is to say, the penal code of Spain for the island was adopted by the military authority of the United States, and was modified from time to time as the interest of good government required.

This action was the basis of all the government which Cuba has had since its occupation by the military authority of the United States. In authorizing this action the President was not a usurper, and the government he established was not despotic; it was liberal, beneficent, and superior to anything that had previously existed in the island. These orders and regulations for the government of Cuba, promulgated by Governor Brooke and Governor Wood, are laws of the United States as much as if they had been enacted by Congress — just as the ordinances of the subordinate corporations of towns and cities in the exercise of delegated legislative power are laws of the State.[1]

This policy was not new. The same thing had been done in California and New Mexico in 1847 by the military authorities in the absence of any legislation by Congress, and the Supreme Court declared it to be perfectly constitutional.[2] Congress might have legislated for California and New Mexico the moment they came into our possession by conquest. The same body might have legislated for Cuba directly, for all purposes, from the time it came into our possession to the present hour, and until the sovereignty is turned over to the people of the island, if it ever is surrendered; for it would be absurd to say Congress could not do directly what it has permitted the President and his subordinates to do indirectly. When Congress passed the act of March 2, 1901, creating this Commission, it took judicial notice of the fact that most of the claimants and witnesses resided in Cuba; and, therefore, it must have intended that the commissioners authorized to take testimony in the cases brought before them were to be sent to Cuba. And when it provided that witnesses swearing falsely in such cases should be liable to prosecution for perjury in the same manner as when com-

[1] 109 Fed. Rep. 581. [2] Cross vs. Harrison, 16 How. 613.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mitted in its courts of justice, Congress meant to extend the laws for perjury to the island. Congress, with its full legislative power over Cuba, might have enacted a law for perjury in these cases, and might have provided for its enforcement by the local authorities in Cuba. It would be a strange anomaly if it could not extend to that island a law already existing in the United States. If Congress could have legislated directly for all the purposes of government in Cuba — establishing courts, providing postal and penal codes, providing public schools, constructing public roads, improving the sanitation of cities, and doing a thousand and one other things — instead of permitting all this to be done by the Military Governor, it would be a still stranger anomaly if it could not extend to the island a law for the punishment of perjury. Nevertheless, the extension of the law of the United States to Cuba was never necessary, as under the local penal code there is abundant authority for the prosecution and punishment of perjury, as well as of other crimes, committed on the island.

Neely violated a provision of the postal code and a provision of the penal code, and then escaped to the United States. In the general confusion as to the legal relations of Cuba to the United States, even so able a man as the late Attorney-General of the United States lost his bearings, and thought it was necessary to amend the section (5720) of the Revised Statutes in regard to extradition so as to place Cuba in the category of a "foreign country." On the same day (June 6, 1901) an act was passed to provide for the extradition of persons charged with crime in Cuba. This law was attacked for unconstitutionality; but, as the Supreme Court correctly held, there was no merit in the points raised. Yet I think that this amendment of section 5720 and this act of June 6, 1901, were entirely works of supererogation. No such legislation was needed. Neely could have been taken back for trial in Cuba under existing laws, just as if he had committed his alleged offences in Oklahoma or Arizona. One of the points raised by counsel for Neely was that the crimes charged against him were offences against Spain, as the penal code was enacted by Spain, and that no offence was committed against the United States. But Justice Harlan replied that, Spain having withdrawn from the island, the offence was against her successor, the United States. This perhaps covered more ground than the learned Justice intended, but it furnished, in my opinion, the crucial test of this whole business in Cuba. ROBERT HUTCHESON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## THE PRESENT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

THE message of the President of the United States to the Congress which will assemble on the first Monday of the current month will bear the signature of Theodore Roosevelt.

This one fact gives to the convening of the Fifty-seventh Congress an importance and interest which it would not otherwise possess. If we had still in the White House the President who bade Congress farewell on the fourth day of last March, and then, for the second time, assumed the solemn obligation of his high office, we should know that the current of legislation would follow a familiar groove, and that the annual message of the President would be little more than a repetition of last year's document. As it is, twenty years have elapsed since a Congress assembled under the peculiar circumstances which have been repeated in the accession of President Roosevelt. Conservative though he was, Chester A. Arthur's administration was marked by many historic episodes; and, notwithstanding the assurance which the present Chief Executive has given us of his intention to follow in the footsteps of his lamented predecessor, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt is a man of too much forcefulness and individuality to be a mere follower, no matter how plain the path which has been marked out for him.

Unquestionably, Mr. Roosevelt will have ideas of his own. How far these will go, and whether he will attempt to impress them upon Congress, are questions which the future alone can answer. President McKinley, to a very large degree, dominated Congress. With rare exceptions, those things which he desired were granted unto him. The secret of his success in this direction lay, first of all, in the fact that every senator and representative, without regard to party, was under obligation to him for the appointment of constituents to places in the army and navy — positions which, it will be remembered, were dispensed with impartial hand because of their non-political character. In addition to this, however, Congress was willing to oblige the President in all possible things, because he was held in high personal regard by the men who composed the National Legislature. He had served with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many of them in the Lower House; he knew how to deal with them as he would be dealt with; and he was so tactful and gracious that he won universal esteem.

One needs only to recall the constant bickering and friction between President Cleveland and the Congresses which were in session during his term of office, to realize the important bearing which the relations between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government have upon the destinies of the country. That memorable quarrel which finally reached a stage where the President was credited with expressing pleasure because Congress was "off his hands" was as unseemly as it was unwise. I do not believe we shall see unpleasant history repeat itself during Mr. Roosevelt's administration. President Roosevelt, it is true, has never actually served in Congress; but he has mingled with public men, and he has a mind sufficiently broad and catholic to prevent him from making the mistake which marred Mr. Cleveland's second term. For a short period last spring, during the special session of the Senate, Mr. Roosevelt presided over that body with dignity and tact, and was exceedingly careful to respect its traditions and adapt himself to its usages. The rumors which accredited him with the intention of revolutionizing the methods and rules of the Senate received his prompt denial. He would, I am sure, have continued to preside over the Senate with judicial impartiality and great conservatism, if tragic circumstances had not called him to higher office; and, being President, he will undoubtedly seek to cement still more firmly the pleasant associations which were then beginning to be enjoyed, both by the presiding officer in the chair and the senators upon the floor. He is known to possess a disposition more or less pugnacious; but, unless I am greatly mistaken, this pugnacity will not be displayed toward Congress.

Of the 357 members of the House no less than 198 are Republicans, a majority of 39; while in the Senate there are 55 Republicans as against 33 opposition, the State of Delaware being unrepresented. It will thus be seen that any legislation upon which the dominant party is united ought speedily to be enacted, especially if it is recommended by the President, the *ex officio* leader of his party. We may expect, however, to see Congress dawdle along until after the Christmas holidays before really beginning work, and this notwithstanding the fact that there will be no contest over the Speakership. Representative David B. Henderson, of Iowa, who officiated as Speaker of the House in the last Congress, will be again elected to that position; and his familiarity with men and measures should enable him to announce

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

promptly the personnel of the various Committees. In the Senate, the gavel laid down by Vice-President Roosevelt will be taken up by Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, who, during the special session of the Senate last spring, was elected President *pro tempore*, and who is admirably fitted for that office. There is no reason, therefore, why there should be any delay in either House in speedily setting the wheels of legislation in motion. If anything like reasonable progress is made, Congress ought to conclude its labors by the first of next June, and possibly at an earlier date.

The most important of the subjects which will be considered by Congress during the present session are, unquestionably, (1) reciprocity, and (2) the treaty with Great Britain relative to the Nicaragua canal. The ratification of the latter document, if achieved, is to be followed by the enactment of the bill authorizing the construction of the Isthmian waterway. Both of these topics — reciprocity and the treaty — were before Congress during the last session.

In the last public utterance of President McKinley — his speech at the Pan-American Exposition — he stood upon advanced ground regarding reciprocity. His arguments and assertions, prepared with great care and expressed with much clearness and force, were as follows:

"By sensible trade arrangements, which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and production, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?"

In furtherance of these views, which are known to receive the partial endorsement, at least, of President Roosevelt, it is the intention of the Administration to submit again to the Senate the reciprocity treaties which failed to be acted upon at the last session. This course

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will, undoubtedly, arouse strong opposition. Republican senators are, as a rule, in the position of the humorist who regarded war as an excellent thing provided it enabled him to rid himself of his wife's relations. Reciprocity, as viewed by the average Republican in Congress, is admirable provided that it does not permit the import, either at a reduced tariff or through absolute free trade, of foreign goods in competition with the output of his own constituents.

Thus, the silk manufacturers of Paterson regard with much indignation the possible increased sale of French silks in this country by the lowering of the tariff bars under the guise of reciprocity. The importation of West Indian fruits, as proposed by the treaties with England concerning the British West Indian colonies, alarms the California and Florida fruit growers; while a loud and emphatic protest comes from the American wool producers, who very promptly discovered, in a reciprocity treaty with the Argentine Republic, a provision which would bring Argentine wool into the United States in direct and injurious competition with the home product. Already the representatives of the wool growers are preparing for the impending struggle. Senator Warren, of Wyoming, the President of the Wool Growers' Association, has recently made public a letter from Senator Foraker, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in which he says that the Argentine treaty is "dead," and predicts that if it is again sent to the Senate it can never be ratified. Senator Clark, of Wyoming, a committee colleague of Senator Foraker, goes even further. He says that not only is the Argentine treaty dead beyond the hope of resurrection, but that, as all the reciprocity treaties admit products of foreign countries that are also products of the United States, they are all doomed to defeat. More than this, Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, who is the guardian of the manufacturing interests of New England, has given notice that if any of these treaties are reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, he will move to have them referred to the Committee on Finance, of which he is the chairman, on the ground that they deal with tariff figures and are more commercial than diplomatic in their character. If ever the door of the Committee on Finance closes upon these reciprocity treaties, it will be for them like the sealing of the tomb.

The message of President Roosevelt will disclose how far he proposes to commit himself and his party to the reciprocity idea. The impression now current is that he will favor it in general terms while expressing opposition to any action that will injure an American industry, thus leaving it to the Senate to decide whether this injury is threat-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ened. It has been suggested that reciprocity can be accomplished by general legislation; but it would seem rather a hazardous undertaking to frame a general law upon the subject. If a few specific treaties are shown to fall heavily upon a comparatively limited number of producers, a general law might well be expected to create almost universal dissatisfaction. The very suggestion of such an enactment will arouse hostility. It is difficult to predict, at the threshold of Congress, exactly how the Republican majority will steer clear of the Scylla of necessary foreign markets for plethoric production, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of incensed producers, on the other.

The situation certainly offers ample opportunity for wise statesmanship. Only a few months have elapsed since the manufacturers of agricultural implements in the West were startled by the antagonistic attitude of Russia; while lately we have heard rumblings of exclusion tariff laws to be passed by Germany and Austria in order to keep out American goods, even as the manufactures of those countries are barred from the United States. It would not be remarkable if the advocates of reciprocity and the adherents of an undisturbed tariff neutralized themselves into non-action. Certainly the friends of the tariff system as embodied in the present law may be relied upon to oppose to the utmost any encroachment upon that system under the guise of reciprocity.

The tariff question is also destined to come before Congress in connection with the bill of Representative Babcock, of Wisconsin, who created something of a flurry during the closing hours of the last session by the introduction of a proposal to abolish the duty on steel and manufactures of steel. Mr. Babcock's measure is, primarily, aimed at the trusts; for he has discovered that great corporations are enabled to institute monopolies and charge exorbitant prices to American citizens through the operation of prohibitive tariffs, while the same products are sold cheaply abroad. When Congress reassembles, Mr. Babcock will re-introduce his bill with additional sections relating to glass and tin plate. He promises, in fact, to wage war against all trust-made articles the manufacture of which is protected by a high tariff against foreign competition, with a consequent monopoly in this country.

Mr. Babcock has been both commended and criticised. The high protectionists condemn his premises and his conclusions, complaining with some bitterness that he is removing the corner-stone from the edifice which they have so carefully erected, and which is, in fact, the sacred temple of the Republican party. The commendation which Mr. Babcock has received has not been confined to any one section of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country, although, of course, it is most emphatically expressed in the Northwest, where tariff reform has always been more or less popular. In expressing the sentiments of his own people Mr. Babcock will encounter vigorous opposition. Already nearly all the members of the Ways and Means Committee, to which his measure must be referred and by which it must be reported, have declared themselves against any "tinkering with the tariff." It would not be surprising if the proposed law slumbered indefinitely in the Committee's archives, despite Mr. Babcock's argument that if a monopoly-creating tariff is not reformed by its friends, a drastic revision, such as afflicted the country during Mr. Cleveland's second administration, will be attempted by the enemies of protection, who would be swept into power upon a wave of hostile sentiment.

With the reciprocity treaties before the Senate and Mr. Babcock's anti-trust tariff reform bills in the House, there will be no lack of tariff talk in Congress. If, however, the treaties never see the light of day, and the Babcock bill rests silently upon the files of the Ways and Means Committee, very little opportunity will be afforded for public formal discussion, and the question will be confined to the speculation of the lobby and the cloak-room. In this, however, there will be a resemblance to smouldering fire. Non-action will not remove the threatened evil of a lack of foreign markets for surplus production, or banish the growing opinion that trusts are fostered by tariffs which prohibit competition. These problems must be met and solved sooner or later; and failure in the present Congress merely leaves the task to be undertaken at some later day.

The attitude of the Senate in favor of American ownership and control of the Isthmian waterway was so plainly manifested at the last session that Secretary Hay is not likely, in submitting a new treaty with Great Britain, to repeat the objectionable features of the document known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1900. These, it will be remembered, were the failure to abrogate specifically the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, in which the United States and Great Britain mutually agreed not to seek exclusive ownership of an Isthmian canal; the provision necessitating the agreement of all the European powers to the convention; the omission of a clause authorizing the United States to apply such measures as it might find necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order; and the prohibition of the fortification of the canal. The Committee on Foreign Relations offered amendments which more securely safeguarded the interests of the United States, and these changes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were adopted by practically unanimous votes. The treaty was then submitted to Great Britain for rejection or approval. It was not accepted; but Lord Pauncefote has returned to Washington with suggestions from Lord Salisbury which are to be drafted into a new agreement.

It is understood that Great Britain agrees to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which convention the United States and England declared that neither country would "ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal." In agreeing to this abrogation, the British Government does not ask a *quid pro quo*, no consideration or recompense being suggested or named, although common report credited British selfishness with desiring either a cession of Alaskan territory or trade advantages for the West Indian colonies. The treaty will, in addition, concede all the points for which the Senate so strenuously contended when the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was under consideration. The right of the United States to control, maintain, and defend the proposed canal is recognized, although in the former treaty fortifications were specifically prohibited. Instead of guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal in time of war, as well as during peace, as formerly provided, the new convention insures this neutrality only while peace prevails, so that the spectacle of hostile warships using the waterway will be averted. One provision of the former treaty is retained: the United States still agreeing not to discriminate in its own favor in the matter of tolls. This is the only clause of the new treaty which can possibly excite opposition; but I recall the fact that when Senator Bard, of California, proposed an amendment to the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, reserving the right of the United States to exercise this discrimination, his motion was defeated by a vote of twenty-seven yeas to forty-three nays. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that a satisfactory understanding between the United States and Great Britain will soon be reached; and that it will embody every point of advantage which patriotic interest can suggest. Even then there will be many honest souls who will inquire as to the necessity for a treaty with Great Britain regarding the construction of a canal upon the American continent by American engineers and American capital. The answer will be that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty must be still considered as binding, and that its summary abrogation would give unnecessary offence to the English Government. The reply may not be altogether satisfactory, but it is the only reason which seems to be advanced by those who regard a treaty with Great Britain as a condition precedent to the construction of the Isthmian canal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When a treaty has been finally ratified, Congress may be expected to enact a bill, such as was agreed to in the House during the last session, fixing a limit of cost for the canal, authorizing the army engineers to begin the work, and appropriating a sum sufficient to start the enterprise. The necessary permission from the Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, if the Nicaragua route shall be finally accepted, will be obtained without difficulty, negotiations to that end having been inaugurated some months ago. At the same time it is expected that opposition to the Nicaraguan site will be stimulated by friends of the Panama route; while there are rumors that obstacles to the building of any Isthmian canal will be suggested by interests connected with the Suez company, the receipts of which will naturally be materially reduced when the rival pathway to the East is in operation. I do not believe, however, that these antagonistic influences will be effective. The desire of Congress to see the canal a reality is too sincere and universal to brook further delay; and if the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress accomplishes nothing else than the enactment of legislation which will insure the commencement of this great international enterprise, it will not have assembled in vain.

Other matters of importance which will occupy the attention of Congress include the question of extending the Geary Chinese Exclusion Act, which expires by limitation next May. The trades unions and other organized bodies of working-men in the West, and especially upon the Pacific slope, are even now agitating the necessity for continuing restrictive legislation; but the fact remains that the hostility toward the Chinese is not as bitter at the present time as it was ten years ago. Chinese labor is being found essential to the development of the coast States. In the end, however, Congress is likely to heed the protest of the labor organizations, and, with proper respect for the votes which they represent, to renew the Exclusion Act for another decade. It is to be hoped that, while this spirit of restriction is upon Congress, something will be done not only toward barring out the anarchists who seek a refuge within our gates, but also in the direction of deporting those who utter murderous doctrines. The Senate once passed, at the instance of Senator David B. Hill, of New York, a bill of this character which was carefully prepared, and which met with the unanimous approval of that body. It happily combined the protection of the community with the largest degree of individual liberty consistent with public safety. It failed, for some reason, in the House. Its revival at this time would be wise and opportune.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is quite probable that the Democratic minority, having in view the Congressional elections next fall, will endeavor to agitate legislation against trusts, and to this end will support any and all efforts to secure consideration for the Babcock measures already mentioned. Even if no anti-trust enactment is secured, the pages of the Congressional Record will afford a convenient depository for speeches to be used during the next campaign.

It is also to be expected that the Philippine question will be again prominent. The legislation placed upon the statute books during the final hours of the last Congress, vesting in such persons as might be appointed by the President "all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands," was admitted to be tentative in its character. It provided for reports concerning the acts of this temporary administration, in order to supply "all information which may be useful to the Congress in providing for a more permanent government." The Republican leaders will, during the present session, attempt the task of formulating general legislation for the Philippines, regarding such action as an absolute necessity. The undertaking will be necessarily extensive; and in the House, as well as in the Senate, we may look for an exhaustive discussion of the Philippine question. The recent disturbances in the islands will afford the Democrats a much-desired text for condemning the acquisition of oriental territory; the Congressional campaign of 1902 being a natural inspiration for their oratory.

The conditions in Cuba are much more satisfactory, and much discussion is not likely to be provoked unless an attempt is made to arrange a reciprocity treaty with the new government of that island. In that case we may confidently anticipate an animated struggle in which the sugar and tobacco interests will be capably represented. It is hardly possible that a sincere effort will be made, at this early stage of Cuban development, to agitate for the annexation of the island. Had President McKinley been spared some action in this direction would have been inaugurated. There is no doubt that he looked forward to annexation as the ultimate solution of the Cuban problem. In his speech at Austin, Texas, while *en route* to the Pacific Coast, he uttered these significant sentences:

"The people of Texas, like the people of the thirteen original States, fought their way to independence, and, like them, came into the Union without any territorial probation, a perfected State. They conquered the right of self-government through the sword, and then sought association with the other States of the Republic. They thought it no sacrifice of their independence to pass from a Republic to a Sov-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ereign State in the Federal Union. It was the realization of their highest aspirations, and brought order, security, tranquillity, and opportunity to govern themselves. What a mighty acquisition and how rich with benefits for both Nation and State."

This utterance of President McKinley had a hidden meaning. It only needs the mere suggestion that Cuba was in his mind at the time to reveal the analogy between the Republic of Texas — which had conquered independence with the sword, which had thought it no sacrifice to become one of the United States, and which had realized all the blessings of a stable government thereby — and the conditions which have prevailed and are now existing in Cuba. Unquestionably, if President McKinley were happily still alive, we should hear some authoritative suggestions on the floor of Congress in line with his ideas. How far President Roosevelt is prepared to go in advocacy of Cuban annexation is purely a matter of conjecture.

The earnest endeavor made during the last session to pass a bill for the encouragement of the American merchant marine, commonly known as the ship subsidy bill, will be renewed. The measure will be presented in new form, embodying certain modifications designed to overcome the criticisms expressed by prominent members of the majority party. It will be remembered that the opposition to the bill last year was by no means confined to the Democrats. Their antagonism will continue, despite all amendment, for it is directed against the principles, and not the details, of the proposed measure. It might be added that the objections of many leading Republicans are so deep-rooted and so widespreading that if the bill is changed to suit their views, it will not be satisfactory to those who hope to be benefited by its enactment. The chances for the passage of the bill, however, are undoubtedly improved by the fact that the present session of Congress is not limited by a fixed day of adjournment; but, even with this advantage, the fate of the subsidy legislation depends largely, if not entirely, upon the success which will attend the efforts of its advocates to unite the Republicans in Congress solidly in its support.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE EMPIRE OF ISLANDS.

THE island of Formosa stands to-day a Japanese sentinel at the very gates of the Chinese Empire. Think of it: a little island, half as large as Ireland, at the door of an empire larger than the United States! This fact in itself is significant of the vast importance of insular possessions at the present day. So late as twenty-five years ago the myriad islands of Oceanica were scarcely even studied as groups, while those lying upon what have now become great highways of travel were rarely, if ever, mentioned. Occasionally, it is true, a teacher at school might put the somewhat vague query: "Can you mention a group of islands lying in the Pacific, west of the United States?" and some enterprising youth, presumably familiar with the narrative of Captain Cook, would answer, "The Sandwich Islands"; whereupon the boys would wonder for a moment how so happy and suggestive a term could be applied to so remote and uninteresting a subject. At the close of the session, the myriad islands of the southern Pacific were swept together under the comprehensive term of Oceanica, and dismissed from further consideration.

Even to-day, notwithstanding many unmistakable indications that the subject is already of tremendous importance, the general knowledge concerning the numerous islands of the globe is very limited. Upon the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, even intelligent persons, fairly familiar with geography, were quite at sea concerning the location of the Azores and Cape Verde groups. They remembered that such islands existed; but where? The old maps were brought out, and there were the islands broadly in evidence, and invested for the time with a greater importance than the whole continents of Asia and Africa. Why? Because they shortened the distance to be traversed by Admiral Cervera's fleet. Here we have the secret of the marvellous transformation which has brought the numerous, widely scattered, and infinitely diversified islands of the world prominently to the front as a new factor upon the political chessboard. Shortening of distance, or in other words, rapidity of communication, has brought the continents of the world into

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closer contact; has facilitated exploration and settlement abroad; and has powerfully stimulated the struggle for commercial and political supremacy. Yet underneath all this we find a clearly defined scheme of world-dominion,[1] gradually unfolding itself with the accuracy of a geometrical proposition, and spreading its lines over every portion of the globe. In view of the importance here accorded to insular possessions, it may be interesting to trace the gradual evolution of these scattered fragments of the earth's surface as the primary factors of geographical, commercial, and political development.

Our extraordinary geographical progress dates from the discovery of the Canary Islands, about 150 years before the advent of Columbus; and it was the discovery of these, the "Happy Isles" of tradition, that induced the Portuguese navigators to feel their way along the western coast of Africa. We have all observed the first sallies of little children from home. First they venture forth a little distance — a very little distance — and then hurriedly run back. They then become familiarized with the object of their fear, and warily proceed a little farther. Gradually, however, as they become more certain of their territory, they gain courage and risk very respectable excursions indeed. Such was the progress of the Portuguese along the African coast; and we shall perceive how, at this early stage of maritime exploration, islands already become invaluable *points d'appui* in a geographical sense. To the youthful-spirited and romantic adventurers, sailing out upon the Atlantic in their little caravels, the Canaries, sixty miles from the African coast, were a landmark upon the unknown deep. Nevertheless, every cape was to them still an object of terror. Over seventy-five years elapsed before they ventured beyond Nun — literally, "Cape No" — a significant term — and it was over eighteen years afterward that they rounded Cape Bojador (1434), so terrified were they by the fierce breakers which dashed upon that far-projecting reef.

The inexperienced explorers of that age still closely hugged the shore, when an event occurred which again appears to have given a tremendous stimulus to nautical exploration — the discovery of the Cape Verde group. The discovery of these islands (1445) by a party of mariners, who, greatly against their inclination, were driven thither by a storm, must have had an extraordinary significance in those early days of geographical discovery. The consciousness that there was land back of them — 320 miles out at sea — undoubtedly inspired to very bold ex-

[1] The word "scheme" is here used to signify, not a prearranged plan, but an organic evolution.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cursions navigators who had hitherto anxiously followed the coast-line; and this sense of security promoted the great enterprises which now followed in rapid succession. Within five years from the discovery of the Cape Verde group the Portuguese had penetrated to the southernmost point of Liberia; in other words, in five years they had boldly measured the same distance which before had consumed nearly twenty. They now proceed by leaps and bounds. One expedition pushes forward the Portuguese advance-posts — stone pillars bearing the arms of Portugal — 1,300 miles in nineteen months; and in the following year two caravels of fifty tons sweep the coast to Bird's Island, passing the Cape of Good Hope.

The wildest dreams of the Arabian conquerors now reappeared before the imagination of the enthusiastic and romantic Portuguese. Emissaries of the king, taking the continental route by way of the Levant, quickly passed around to the western coast of Africa to pave the way; and in 1497 Vasco da Gama's squadron at last triumphantly burst into that golden realm, the fabulous region of the Indies. The dazzling dream of centuries was fulfilled.

Here Europeans received their first lesson on the strategical importance of insular strongholds. Their ships, India-bound, landed at Mozambique and Mombasa on the African coast, whence they proceeded to Ormuz, Goa, and Cochin — all islets, excepting the last-mentioned, the fort of which was situated at the point of a long and extremely narrow peninsula, practically inaccessible. Thus was this marvellous though brief empire maintained: a few little detached insular strongholds commanding important strategical points; swift caravels, as superior to the Arabian bark as was Dewey's iron fleet to the obsolete squadron of Spain; and guns served by marksmen whose aim is said to have been almost infallible.

As the Canaries became the points of departure for the first timid sallies of the Portuguese, so with the accidental discovery of the Azores, 800 miles from the coast of Portugal, light at last began to dawn on the broad Atlantic. Indeed, when we consider the high geographical importance which the discovery of this archipelago must have had, we are compelled to realize that our treatment of islands has hitherto been akin to that sometimes extended to a humble servitor, who helps us to wealth and preferment, but who is dismissed and forgotten as soon as his services are no longer required. The discovery of the Azores was the slow rising of the curtain upon an infinite perspective. Visions of bright lands lying still farther out at sea now began to haunt the im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agination; until finally, in the mind of the greatest visionary of that period, these dreams became invested with all the power of actuality. "Land beyond the Azores!" Such must have been the cry of the crew of Columbus, which drew them on and on like an invisible magnet to the great group of islands in the Caribbean.

Whether the reader believes in chance, or holds that the prow of Columbus was, amid shifting course and varying winds, directed by a divine agency, the fact remains, that the most carefully concocted plan could not have conducted the great navigator to any other spot quite so favorable to further exploration. Here were islands sufficiently isolated to insure security, yet commanding the entrance to the heart of two continents, and to the very centre of fertility. From this point Ponce de Leon could safely proceed to Florida, De Soto to the Mississippi, Cortez to Mexico, and Balboa to Panama; and here Europeans received their first lesson on the immense value of islands as bases for continental exploration.

In 1600, the empire of the islands beyond the confines of Europe was divided between Spain and Portugal; the former occupying such of the Antilles as she desired, the latter possessing all important groups appropriated in the East, with the exception of the Philippines and the Ladrones — groups forever famous as marking the termination of Magellan's memorable voyage around the world.

And now, after a general survey of the sixteenth century, we pass across the threshold into the seventeenth. What a change! History records no transformation more sudden and complete. It is like stepping from a brilliantly illuminated theatre into a cold, dark, drizzling atmosphere, where we are solely intent on drawing our wraps about us, and finding the shortest way to a warm fireside. We step at once from the most romantic into the most practical age. The brilliant Portuguese explorer is followed by the greatest merchant of history, the Hollander, with an eye single to the main chance, with an industry and a minuteness and exactness of detail never equalled — the exact counterpart of his predecessor, whose wild extravagance of plan proved alike his glory and his ruin. Instead of seeking a vast and splendid empire, with uncertainty of tenure, the practical Dutch merchants at once perceived the high value of the insular possessions of the East for commercial purposes. They preferred, therefore, to intrench themselves securely and permanently in the East Indies, not only to control the immense wealth of these islands, but to utilize them as commercial bases, from which they could safely reach all the principal depots — most of them

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minute island sentinels — upon the eastern seas. Yet not these alone, but all the groups discovered by the Portuguese, now became indispensable stepping-stones of commerce in that long, lonely, and laborious voyage between thrifty Holland and her far distant possessions in the East. Let us follow these little craft upon their voyage.

Leaving Amsterdam, the ships, instead of passing through the Channel, sailed around the northern coast of Scotland, between Shetland and Orkney, down the western coast of Ireland, giving it a very wide berth, however, and thence southward past the Azores to the Canaries — a long, circuitous, and laborious route, at first adopted to avoid hostile cruisers, and afterward retained as a safeguard against smuggling.

From the Canaries, the ships passed on to the Cape Verde group, where repairs were made and provisions taken on board. Here islands first acquire importance as commercial recruiting stations and supply-depots; and here, also, the Cape Verde group is again among the first to come into the foreground. The vessels now continued on their way to the Cape of Good Hope, where they remained for several weeks. It is an exemplification of one of the most tragic features of history that the descendants of those brave Hollanders, whose settlement at the Cape for more than 160 years constituted the only landmark in that distant region of the Southern Hemisphere, should be at last compelled to lose the independent position which they so long maintained.

Upon their departure from the Cape, the ships sailed eastward to the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam. Here they changed their course to the Straits of Sunda, through which they passed, skirting the islands leading to Batavia. On the return voyage St. Helena and Ascension, together with the Cape Verde group, served to break the long distance across the Atlantic to a far western point above the Banks of Newfoundland. Upon reaching the Banks they sailed far to the north again, to the Shetland Islands, where a convoy of cruisers awaited them. The whole voyage to and from Batavia extended over 36,000 miles — a distance equivalent to nearly one and one-half times the circumference of the globe, or to six round trips from New York to Liverpool. As we gaze back upon that distant period we are filled with admiration for the patience and industry which were needed to transport in a voyage so protracted, and by means of a fleet so small, freighted with a heavy equipment of sailors and soldiers, no less than $2,500,000 worth of merchandise annually. In this connection, it is scarcely possible to overestimate the importance of the above-mentioned islands as havens and supply-depots. The insular acquisitions of Hol-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land at this time include the East Indies, Ceylon, and the Maldives — in short, all the most valuable insular possessions from a commercial point of view.

We also note a change of color in the Caribbean, where Spain is at last confronted by two formidable rivals — England and France. Instead of recognizing the value of her insular possessions — geographical, commercial, and strategical — Spain, like Portugal, in her eagerness to acquire, lost her foothold of valuable *points d'appui*. Guadeloupe and Martinique, at the very entrance to the Caribbean, are seized by France, which nation also chooses to divide with Spain the island of Hayti; the islands known as the Dutch West Indies, formerly claimed by the Spanish, are occupied by Holland; while England takes valuable Jamaica, and the Bahamas, as well as Barbadoes and most of the other islands of both the Windward and Leeward Groups. What a treasure trove! Yet surely this is not astonishing. Wherever the Spaniards went they left behind a swath of ruin and desolation; and in occupying several of the islands vacated by them, the English virtually seized upon a corpse. The fate of Spain has been particularly cruel. Yet in every instance the fearful retribution meted out to her has been fully merited. Frenzied and dazed with lust and rapine, her career may be compared to that of the infuriated bull of the arena, which succumbs at last beneath the steel of the toreador.

Islands, by reason of their position, develop an indomitable love of independence. Perhaps the most curious illustration of this spirit was furnished by the native inhabitants of the Canaries, a group secluded since the beginning of time until its discovery in the fourteenth century. Here a different language prevailed on each island; so that the inhabitants of one little rock scarcely understood their neighbors upon the next. Fuerteventura, little more than twice as large as the city of New York, was ruled by two rival kings, whose so-called states were separated by a wall completely dividing the island into two parts. Upon the Grand Canary, a trifle smaller than London, there were two capitals, thirty-three distinct settlements and two states, each ruled by its respective king and high priest, as well as by an oligarchical senate — a House of Lords, in other words — consisting of about two hundred members chosen from the nobility. Although the instance afforded by this Lilliputian domain is, perhaps, the most interesting and unique, the love of independence inspired by an insular environment is everywhere perceptible. Ancient Ireland had a king to every bog; and the descendants of these royalties have not yet finished the quarrel. In Samoa, until

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recently, rival kings were installed with the regularity of officers of the watch; and even Hayti, the only island republic in the world, can scarcely be said to have had no history.

If we now proceed from single islands to more extensive archipelagoes, the intensity of the conflict increases, and piracy begins. Such was the condition found by Magellan in the Philippines, and by the Portuguese in other parts of the Malay Archipelago; and such was the phenomenon — hitherto accounted for upon political grounds — which inevitably arose in the neglected insular wilderness of the Caribbean. The game of hide-and-seek played among this maze of islands by the rovers and pirates of the seventeenth century constitutes a unique chapter of history. Here originated the proud titles of buccaneer, freebooter, and filibuster. From this school were graduated the famous Edward Teach — he of the ringlets and curls — and Captain Kidd, to disseminate the doctrine throughout the world. The seeds sown by the Spaniards now bore fruit, and the Caribbean was converted into a veritable hell, where the reckless elements of every nation held high carnival.

The stamping out of this hotbed of piracy is coeval with the sunrise of British colonial influence. We have seen how islands became the primary agents of daring maritime exploits, and later the indispensable starting points of continental exploration. We have seen how the minute geographical divisions seized by Portugal constituted the strategic bases upon which the power of that nation was based. During the maritime régime of the Dutch the East Indies are commercial bases; while all the scattered groups of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean become stepping-stones of commerce. With the advent of British power, islands, for the first time in history, become colonial centres which, like luminous bodies of the firmament, shed about them bright rays of civilization and culture.

Freedom and independence as defined by the Anglo-Saxon race are insular in their origin. Even the English colonies on the American Continent are widely scattered. Care is taken that a very broad margin be left between these bickering "independencies," each of which desires to be completely insulated. Upon the whole, settlements are preferably made in different parts of the earth, and more particularly on islands; and, in this connection, it is significant that the most extensive, prosperous, and contented colony of England to-day is the island continent of Australia, in the farthest region of the antipodes. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the second colony in America should have been established on the Bermudas, that orphan group of the Atlantic.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bermuda typifies the British love of independence; Jamaica, the British genius for self-government. It is this extraordinary capacity for self-government which has enabled England to found the first successful and permanent colonies on islands — frequently the most difficult possessions to conquer and to maintain. The insular possessions of the Spaniards have never been colonies, but stamping-grounds. The Spanish ships sail from Cadiz to Havana to procure the "treasures of the King," and the "jewels and *épingles* for the Queen"; while Jamaica sends her own vessels to England via Bermuda. The possessions of the Dutch East India Company, in the seventeenth century, were not then, as now, successful colonial centres, patterned on English models: they were mere commercial agencies, many of them actually situated on minute and well-protected islets scarcely perceptible on the map. As to France, we have but to compare the insular schemes of that nation with the upbuilding of England's island possessions, amid darkness and tempest, slavery and piracy, to perceive upon what foundations the British Empire has been reared.

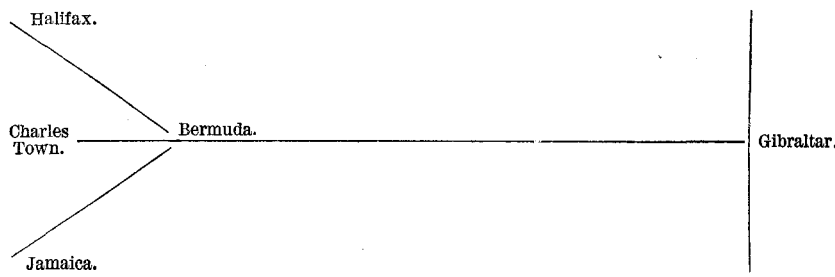
From the middle of the seventeenth century, when France made no further effort to strengthen her hold upon her newly acquired West Indian possessions than merely to send over a few experienced Jewish merchants to build up trade, to the present day, when she is generously permitted by England to retain the little fishing-stations, St. Pierre and Miquelon, as souvenirs of her once vast possessions in America, the French insular schemes have undoubtedly furnished the most valuable material to the comedy of history. Perhaps the most theatrical of these enterprises, however, was that which may be not inaptly designated as the "Organization of the Invincible Armada for the Grand Colonization of Madagascar." The whole nation, with that generous enthusiasm for an idea which is its most striking characteristic, rose to the occasion. Louis XIV subscribed the enormous sum of 3,500,000 livres toward the enterprise; and every city of France followed his example. All the royal dockyards were thrown open; a bishop (!) was appointed to the "see of Madagascar"; and finally a great excursion fleet, in holiday array, set sail for this picnic ground of the East. Four hundred persons died on the voyage; and instead of finding an earthly paradise, the commander of the expedition was greeted by a few half-starved French colonists, the feeble remnant of an unsuccessful party of explorers. Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since then, and Madagascar, in homely phraseology, has not yet begun to be colonized. Now for the contrast! Within fourteen years after the conquest of that Spanish

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

graveyard, Jamaica, the white population had increased from 1,500 to 15,000, and the effective land and sea forces to over 5,000. Agriculture and commerce — absolutely unique features — had already found rapid extension; and in 1675 the records of the island show over 250 holdings. So much for Jamaica, which England has now held for about two centuries and a half, and which to-day constitutes the central stronghold of her beautiful and symmetrical web in the Caribbean.

Every island of Great Britain is a monument to her colonial genius. Even the infant isle of St. Helena, a barren rock selected as a recruiting station for India-bound vessels, is shortly after its first actual settlement by sufferers of the London Fire of 1666 converted into a purchaser equal to Burcoola, the port of Sumatra, and figures among the following group of giants as a "consumer" of the East India Company: Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Burcoola, St. Helena, and China.

In singular contrast to those of any other nation, therefore, the islands of Great Britain, first and foremost, become colonial centres; then milestones of commerce; then strategical bases; and, finally, upon the coast of that long-neglected continent, Africa, and upon the outskirts of Oceanica, *points d'appui* of exploration and discovery — a singular fact, that proves the completeness and intricacy of that scheme of world-dominion which properly begins with the conquest of Gibraltar. By the capture of this, the strongest natural fortress in the world, the thin lines of intercourse which had been spun between the scattered possessions of Great Britain were gathered up and strengthened at their weakest point; strange lines, neither nautical nor commercial, now appear upon the map; the corner-stone of the British Empire has been laid.




We have a wealth of literature treating of Great Britain's continental possessions, but not an essay touching upon the vast significance of her island empire. Yet the most valuable colonies of Great Britain upon the North American Continent have been lost; her first feeble threads

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in South America were severed by the Monroe Doctrine; in Africa, to-day, she is fighting hard for consolidation; while, in Asia, she is slowly but surely drawing to meet an adversary, who, like Macduff in the play, seems alone to have been decreed invulnerable to the British arms. It is, therefore, primarily by means of her widely scattered islands that Great Britain has succeeded in spinning the threads of that subtile and intricate webwork which has enabled her to develop, to control, and to extend all those innumerable lines of intercommunication which are slowly but surely converting the globe from an inert body, consisting of numerous parts, into a living organism considered as a unit.

As we follow the extension of this webwork, islands altogether unknown, or of comparatively local importance, gradually acquire an extraordinary significance, beautifully exemplified by the three insular possessions severally acquired during the eighteenth century. The first of these, Gibraltar,[1] a barren rock, becomes the keystone, or, better, the central hub of the British Empire, and the first of that long list of insular sentinels and coast stations the gradual acquisition of which has to-day placed the British flag at the entrance to almost every sea, gulf, and channel upon the face of the globe. Situated midway between Europe and Africa, Asia and America, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that

> "While stands Gibraltar, Britain shall stand;
> When falls Gibraltar, Britain shall fall;"

and with Britain, the greatest, and, upon the whole, most beneficent scheme of empire since the days of the Roman World. Less important, though equally significant as marking a precedent, was the annexation of the Falklands (1765).

Britannia, of yore, was the Brunhild of history, "hedged round with hindering horrors," that none but the most fearless might conquer and possess her. Behold how this historic precedent is repeated! The Bermudas are the "Deuil's Ilands, feared and auoyded of all sea travellers alive, aboue any other place in the world"; the very name "St. Helena" has become a synonym for isolation; while the Falklands are situated in that region of gloom and desolation which alone, of all places visited by them, so appalled the sailors of Magellan that they clamored to return and rose in mutiny. The Falkland Islands were long regarded by many as an almost worthless bank of rocks. Yet, from this solitary outpost Great Britain could command the passage through the Straits of

[1] Gibraltar, although technically a promontory, is from the point of view of this discussion practically an island.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Magellan, as she controls, to-day, the turning-points of Europe, Asia (at Singapore), and Africa. In view of what has been stated it is hardly probable that she will readily forego the pleasure of participating in the control of the Nicaragua Canal, by means of which North and South America, long politically insulated by the Monroe Doctrine, will, broadly speaking, become converted into gigantic island-continents.

Trinidad, finally, the last of the three insular possessions acquired during the eighteenth century (1797), is likewise typical of a group; being the first representative of that long list of islands and partly insulated cities which may become operative as valves, completely regulating the ebb and flow of commerce. With the acquisition of Trinidad, England obtained easy access to all the gateways of the Orinoco; in 1807 she seized the island of Heligoland, at the mouth of the Elbe, and held it for eighty-three years, crippling the commerce of Germany during that period. In 1815, she made a bold dash for the partially insulated city of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi; and to-day she practically controls the Nile and the Niger — the only drop of bitterness in her cup being the absence of a tight little island at the mouth of the Congo.

The colossal contribution of the nineteenth century to the evolution of islands may be epitomized in a single sentence: steam and electricity, by shortening distance and facilitating communication, enforce the rapid consolidation of the British Empire, and reveal islands, at last, as the primary factors in a most ingenious and perfect system of dominion, based upon the entire geographical configuration of the globe — as the indispensable strands of a webwork, to-day completely encircling the earth. We perceive the central hubs, each different in character, and we can form a conception of the great strategical lines which unite the fabric, and which, in the event of attack or interference, may be drawn together like the snares of that great constructive and mathematical genius, the spider. The comparison may be carried still further. The world-wide commerce of England, with its universal radii of influence, with its enormous fleet, armed in time of war, and furnishing innumerable means of transportation and communication, may be not inaptly compared to the more intricate network of the web, supported by the strands or cables, it is true, yet knitting all these together into a composite fabric.

The possibility of becoming an integral unit of so vast a scheme — a factor which may materially affect the complexion of the political chessboard — has, within an incredibly short time, invested every avail-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able island with an extraordinary importance. I well remember that, about twenty years ago, we students at college used to repeat a sort of lugubrious rhyme about the far-away Sunda Islands — so far away, indeed, that whenever we arrived at the beginning of the fourth line, where the location was stated, we were obliged to halt and begin again:

Sumatra and Java,
Borneo and Celebes,
Are the mighty Sunda Islands
In the . . . . . .

Yet these islands, to-day, are our "next-door" neighbors in the Philippines. Even Micronesia, with its geographical nebulæ, is rapidly being brought distinctly within our circle of vision; while every contribution to the literature of this subject is welcomed with extraordinary enthusiasm. Why? Because, deep within the heart of Briton and Yankee alike, we may still find a touch of the eternally youthful spirit of our race — the spirit of our dearest and earliest acquaintance, Robinson Crusoe.

JOSEPH SOHN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE ETHICS OF THE LAST CHINA WAR.

THE July number of THE FORUM contained an article on "The Ethics of Loot," concerning which some have sarcastically remarked that there was in it much of loot and little of ethics. Even if so, its statement of facts was ethically correct. In spite of a supposed deterioration of moral sense, I now enter on a consideration of the larger question, the ethics of the war itself — a question calling for that delicate discrimination which a knowledge of the facts can alone furnish.

But, first, we must examine the ethics of the *casus belli*, direct and indirect. The real *casus belli*, as announced in the imperial declaration of war, was the demand by foreign admirals, on June 16, 1900, for the surrender of the Taku forts. In THE FORUM for January last I referred to one of the edicts, dated June 21, 1900, which reads in part:

> "Yesterday a despatch was sent by the doyen of the consuls in Tientsin calling on us to deliver up the Taku forts into their keeping; otherwise they would be taken by force. These threats showed their aggressions. With tears have we announced the war in the ancestral shrines. . . . They rely on crafty schemes; our trust is in Heaven's justice. They depend on violence; we on humanity. Besides the righteousness of our cause, our provinces number more than twenty, our people more than 400,000,000, and it will not be difficult to vindicate the dignity of our country."

At first sight, it certainly seems as if war would have been prevented if the admirals had made no such threatening demand, and the foreign ministers had more strongly appealed to the better judgment of the imperial authorities. Several of the officials had intended, to my knowledge, to exert themselves for the restoration of order and the maintenance of friendliness with the Powers; but as soon as the ultimatum of the foreign admirals reached Peking, these intentions were transformed into indifference for the foreigner's security, if not into open and stubborn enmity. The Chinese Government, if at all anxious to retain its self-respect, could not very well hold aloof from a declaration of war. All the anti-foreign elements were consolidated; and where without the challenge there was only attack from Boxers, after the challenge there was the strong combination of Boxers and imperial troops. One of the consuls at Tientsin, on first hearing the proposition

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to seize the Taku forts, exclaimed: "If you do you will be signing the death-warrant of every foreigner in the interior." In fact, the suddenness of the threat and the shock of collision took away all chance of escape from many helpless men, women, and children in the northern provinces.

The action of the admirals and ministers, viewed in this light, appears as altogether too precipitate, rash, and inconsiderate. Admiral Kempff stands out as the one man who did not "lose his head." If the foreign ministers had been men commanding respect by strong personality, fair-mindedness, and discriminating good sense; if as a body they had, as was once contemplated, boldly, firmly, and justly argued the peril, wrong, and folly of the existing situation, before the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager; and especially if the rising wave of fanatical Boxerism had been checked at an earlier date, I believe that the awful catastrophe that cast its shadow over the whole world, the necessity for an ultimatum, and the impulse to war might have been avoided. Taking circumstances even as they were, I am ready to say that *perhaps* the issue would have been for the best, if the surrender of the Taku forts had not been demanded, but that a careful calculation of the probabilities, with the accompanying sense of obligation, necessitated the ultimatum, serious and fatal as it was.

What, then, were the facts on the other side? As early as June 12, 1900, I presented to the princes and ministers of the Foreign Office, at their request, a statement on the necessity of dealing vigorously and promptly with the Boxer rising. I was given to understand that they were powerless, and that the Empress-Dowager could alone act. On June 17, before the action at Taku was known in Peking, an imperial edict was issued containing the following significant suggestion:

> "If the ministers and their families wish to go for a time to Tientsin [what of the rest, and the native converts?], they must be protected on the way; but the railroad is not in working order. If they go by the cart road it will be difficult, and there is fear that perfect protection cannot be given. They would do better to abide here in peace."

And, oh, such peace!

In brief, the Boxers, unchecked by the Government, had already massacred two English missionaries half-way between Peking and Tientsin; the missionaries in Pao-ting-fu had been hopelessly cut off from escape to the coast; a chancellor of the Japanese legation had been butchered outside the gates of Peking by imperial soldiers; all foreign property in Peking, outside of the legation area and the North Cathe-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dral, had been destroyed; Boxers had begun their attack on Tientsin; hundreds of native converts had already been massacred, and others had deserted their homes and were in hiding, while the purpose seemed more and more real to exterminate every disciple of Western teachers; communication between Peking and the sea was effectually broken; and the foreign ministers, thwarted in every argument of reason, had sounded out the alarm: "Situation extremely grave; unless arrangements are made for immediate advance to Peking, it will be too late."

What is of more significance, mines were being laid around Taku, and 7,000 Chinese soldiers, under General Nich, with sixty field-guns, were ordered on June 16 to come up to Taku by train from the military rendezvous at Lutai, to oppose further foreign relief from outside. Considering what the military strength of the Chinese was, in and around Tientsin, it certainly seemed probable that if Taku was held by the Chinese and relief for foreigners should be cut off in approach by sea, the foreigners in Tientsin would be overcome and massacred, and after that there would easily follow the massacre of all foreigners in Peking. There was no time for delay. Prompt action was required. The admirals, with the exception of the American, saw that it was their duty to warn, to check, and to forestall the Chinese by informing the commander of the Taku forts that, as a matter of safety, those forts must temporarily be occupied by foreign troops.

A second and minor *casus belli* was the attack which the legation guard and civilians made on Boxers prior to the siege. This complaint is not referred to in imperial edicts, but was made by Prince Tuan, Duke Lan, and others, in a Grand Council of all the nobles and high ministers of state, on June 16, and again on June 20. "The foreigners have killed our Boxers; we must help the Boxers and kill the foreigners." The facts were these: After the foreigners in Peking had deserted their premises for combined defence, it was reported that bands of Chinese Christians were being surrounded and cut to pieces by the Boxers. With a laudable feeling of compassion, relief parties went out to rescue the converts, and, in so doing, killed several Boxers who were caught in the act of fiendish slaughter. Once or twice Boxers were fired upon as they drew near to assault the legations. Once Boxers who had gathered for their incantations had a few shots fired into them from the city wall behind the German legation.

It should be remembered that neither the Chinese soldiers nor their authorities had done anything whatever to restrain, inside the capital itself, the incendiarism, bloodshed, plunder, and anarchy which thou-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sands of Boxers were emboldened to carry on against foreigners and adherents of the Christian faith. Native authority stood aloof, while the awful carnival of maddened men, let loose as it were with blood-curdling yells from the very gates of hell, reigned throughout the city. If any defenceless Christian, with death staring him in the face, could be rescued, who will dare say that a wrong was done thereby? And yet, to be fair, we should perhaps acknowledge that, considering the inflamed condition of the populace, it would have been wiser if foreign parties, in their noble work of rescuing the helpless, had, beyond actual necessity, left the Boxers untouched, and had so avoided stirring the wrath of their sympathizers at Court.

Yet another cause of friction which terminated in the war, though technically not a *casus belli*, was the missionary propaganda throughout the country. As a rule, in Chinese criticisms, no distinction is made in the nationality of the missionary, or between Protestants and Roman Catholics. On July 18, 1900, when an informal armistice for a few days began in Peking, and the Court for the first time showed signs of discomfiture and an assumption of righteousness, an edict appeared, saying: "The reason for the fighting between the Chinese and foreigners sprang from a disagreement between the people and Christian converts. We could not but enter upon war when the forts at Taku were taken." Hence, so-called "missionary difficulties" are to be regarded as one root of the widespreading tree of international collision.

Though a brief expression of opinion on this subject may be misconstrued, the matter cannot be eliminated if there is a desire to treat the more general problem fairly.

Is it wrong, then, to make converts in a country like China, if the outcome is to be trouble and perhaps war? Viewing missions from a political standpoint, not from a religious, it should be recognized that missionaries are the vanguard of Western civilization in China, opening up the country to new ideas of development, and conducing to the reception of enterprises and agents other than missionary. Moreover, they illustrate the character of Western civilization at its best, by lives of uprightness, honesty, and generosity. As a rule, I think it can be safely affirmed that British and American missionaries attend to their legitimate business with a sincere interest in promoting the welfare of all, and that in exceptional cases only do they intrude themselves on litigations of the natives.

Nevertheless, the work of proselytizing, even without a thought of using compulsion, inevitably causes friction. Any demarcation between



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Christian Chinese and other Chinese, whether in conduct, custom, belief, or influence, will cause jealousy and suspicion. If Christian converts, because of their religious requirements, are exempt from certain exactions of custom, or if because of connection with their foreign teachers they are favored or protected in disagreements and quarrels with others, a feeling of resentment may be expected to arise. If Christians, like most Mohammedans in China, could live in communities apart, carrying on any business they pleased, free to observe the customs of their religion, and meeting the requirements of state through specially chosen representatives, much of this friction might be obviated. But missionaries, as a body, are not content to restrict the "sale of their wares," but want an "open door," and are influenced by a spirit of magnificent enterprise and the enthusiasm of conquests in new regions. They seek an extended market.

Put it down, then, that missionary operations, as usually carried on, will produce friction. As they have been carried on by certain emissaries, there have been and will continue to be local collisions, feuds, and much unrest. Political advantages through ecclesiastical intermeddlings never tend to peace and good-will. At their best, Christian missions have been openly permitted by the imperial Government all over China, and have received a commendable degree of protection for their agents and adherents. But, ever and anon, through some real ground of complaint, through some erroneous suspicion and superstitious fear, or through personal spite or an offence to public prejudice, a wave of persecution begins to roll, which, unchecked at the outset, soon breaks with tremendous desolation. If local officials, and especially members of the imperial Government, callously allow or zealously abet the craze against the church, as in the Boxer rising of 1900, then they inevitably see a result disastrous to pagan and to Christian alike.

And right here come in the difficulty and complication. If Chinese officials were just and trustworthy, it would only be necessary to find out the source of trouble, whether in Christian or non-Christian, and to devise a plan to make amends and confirm the right. Such a supposition being contrary to facts, the church, through some foreign power, will be tempted to strengthen an outside protectorate, assuring its converts that priest and people will stand together, and, if the worst comes to the worst, will die together. Hence it is that many Catholic missions, rather than desert their flock when danger comes, have fortified well-chosen places to ward off armed attacks.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The situation in troublous times is brought out in an edict of July 1, 1900. It says:

"Ever since foreign nations began the propagation of their religion, there have been many instances throughout the country of ill-feeling between people and converts. All this is due to faulty administration on the part of local authorities, giving rise to feuds. Converts are also the children of the state, and among them are not wanting good and worthy people; but they have been led away by false doctrines, and have depended on missionaries for help, with the result that they have committed many misdeeds. They hold stubbornly to their errors, and irreconcilable enmity has grown up between converts and people."

Anterior to the war of last year, and constituting a ground for it, were the ever-increasing aggressions of foreign powers. The inroads of Germany at Kiao-chow, of Russia at Port Arthur and Talien-wan, of Great Britain at Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon, and of France at Kuang-chao-wan; Italy's weak attempt in San-men Bay; and Japan's preëmptive claim, under certain eventualities, to the province of Fukien were so many "thorns in the flesh" to the body politic of China. A secret edict was sent forth to all the provinces near the close of 1899. Its language in part is as follows:

"The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavor to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. . . . It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances that nothing short of war would settle matters, he is expected to set himself resolutely to work to perform his duty to this end. . . . Never should the word 'peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials, nor should they even allow it to rest for a moment within their breasts. . . . Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves."

A few months after, I was talking with the cabinet minister, Kang Yi, who was a leading spirit in support of the Boxers, and afterward became their commander. He acknowledged the fact of such an edict, and emphasized the determination to resist, even by force of arms, any further attempts of foreign Powers to encroach on China's domains. Only some three months before the war I also met the notorious governor, Yu Hsien, who had officially started the Boxer organization in Shantung, and then went to Shansi to organize it in that province. He stated that the Boxers had been stirred up by high-handed actions of converts in the German-Catholic mission, but especially through the territorial aggressions of Germany in the province of Shantung.

War with one or all the Powers was certainly contemplated, and the feeling, whatever the purpose, was extermination. The Chinese were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

becoming more and more enraged. When the actual declaration of war was made, the Emperor, referring to past relations with foreigners, said:

"At first they were amenable to Chinese control, but for the last thirty years they have taken advantage of China's forbearance to encroach on China's territory, trample on the Chinese people, and demand China's wealth. Every concession by China increased their confidence in violence. They oppressed peaceful citizens and insulted the gods and holy men, exciting the most burning indignation among the people."

Where was the right in this matter? I agree that the murder of the German missionaries in Shantung demanded some strong treatment, such as Germany was capable of giving; but I have never sympathized with her excessive — one might say, outrageous — demand. Still less ought one to sympathize with the irritating rush of other Powers for counterbalancing Germany's gain by appropriating more of China. Foreign diplomats might appear to be acting with fairness, since compacts were made with Chinese officials under the final approval of the Emperor; but none the less China yielded, not to a logical argument or a requirement of justice, but to the stern necessity of superior strength. And so the war, thought of for months, planned in secrecy, and longed for, if victory could only be assured, came at last in the hot summer days at the close of the century — China, not against Germany or Russia or Japan, but against the world!

Let us notice the right and the wrong of China's attitude and the attitude of the Powers in this unprecedented contest. (1) It was right for China, as a recognized sovereignty, to accept the challenge and to resist the inroads of outside nations. If China had rested the righteousness of her appeal to arms on the very apparent injustice with which different foreign nations persisted in treating her, the war would have been memorable as one of high principle. The mere fact that she was the weaker party would have brought her countless friends.

(2) China, however, was decidedly in the wrong, as well as short-sighted, in failing to distinguish between friendly and hostile nations. Even on the final challenge over the forts at Taku, why did not China attempt to specify the nations with which she undertook war, and omit those unconcerned in the challenge, such as the United States or the unrepresented nations like Austria and Holland? Even if she were ignorant of the exact situation, which is quite likely, she could have made some discrimination instead of generalizing all nations as "the enemy."

(3) Still more clearly, China was in the wrong by failing to recognize her friends among individual foreigners. Why should Sir Robert

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hart and his customs' staff, or Dr. Martin in the Imperial University, with his professors, all in the employ of China, be forced to take refuge in the legations? Why were they not befriended and utilized? Why was such a gallant man as Professor James shot down at the very time he was trying to save China?

(4) China was in the wrong in failing to protect non-combatant, private subjects of even the nations upon whom she was declaring war. For such a crime there would come most drastic retribution. So far as the imperial Government is concerned, she either forced such persons to become belligerent in self-defence, or violated all feelings of humanity by encompassing their death, and that, too, by barbaric methods. To be shot down, as dies the soldier on the battle-field, may be passed calmly by; but one's blood boils to think of delicate women, little children, and strong men, beheaded, outraged, cut to pieces, their bodies cast to dogs and wolves. The American missionaries, burned or slaughtered at Pao-ting-fu, had never given the slightest offence, and were from homes of Christian culture and refinement. The war was especially conspicuous for open and official countenance given to the cruelties of bloody massacre.

(5) China was in the wrong in attacking the legations and their official representatives. From a political standpoint China committed a most flagrant crime, and she knew it. The attack on the legations was a wrong which no Chinese are disposed to condone.

(6) China was in the wrong in plotting to kill those of her own people who, as officials, had tried to prevent war, or, as private subjects, had under the law accepted Christianity. The imperial Government and the imperial troops most distinctly favored the Boxers, who for months had been guilty of plunder, arson, and murder, and had oppressed the Christians, who at the worst had been high-handed and offensive in certain cases only.

As a measure of war, as well as being the purpose of the Boxers, native converts were compelled to a choice between recantation or death. The edict of July 2, already cited, says:

"The Throne is now exhorting all members of the Boxers to be loyal and patriotic, and to take part against the enemy, the people being of one mind. Knowing that the converts are also subjects owing fealty to the Throne, we also know that they form a distinct class and invite their own destruction. If they will change their hearts, there is no reason why they should not be allowed to escape from the net. . . . All converts who repent of their former errors and surrender to the authorities shall be allowed to reform, and their past will be overlooked."

Here, indeed, is a nice question in ethics. When two countries are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at war, shall the people of the one country, having accepted under their own Emperor's sanction the religion of the other country, be compelled to retract their religion, and attack their own instructors? Or shall they, convinced that the war is wrong and their religion right, be allowed to hold to their religion and remain aloof from the war?

(7) China was wrong in pandering to the lawlessness and atrocities of the Boxers, and incorporating them as a part of the Government. After a year of glaring misdemeanors, and even after they had created chaos in the capital, burning to the ground the most important business section with a loss of several millions of dollars, the Throne honored them by designating a prince and high officials to be their commanders, set apart revenue for their support, provided them with headquarters, and made this astounding statement: "All the Boxers are putting forth their utmost energy; the imperial family must not fall behind in harboring revenge against our enemies." All this was said and done, though the Throne had itself propounded the query: "We would like to know when in the history of a nation the condoning of anarchy among the people has made that nation strong?"

With respect to foreign powers: (1) It was their duty to rescue not only their official representatives, but all their own citizens in Peking and Tientsin, even if rescue involved war. The Chinese have had too much the impression that the killing of a foreigner, especially if a missionary, did not matter with some countries; and it was most desirable that they should see for once the reproof of a strong, combined, overpowering interference.

(2) The conduct of the Allies in their battles and onward march to Peking seldom, if ever, failed in observing the usages of warfare. There were cases of innocent Chinese, especially women, committing suicide through fright; but the stories of outrage need to be verified.

(3) The foreign Powers committed an error, perhaps, in allowing a strange muddle of war and peace, and in not declaring war in return for China's declaration — a war, however, clearly stated as directed not against the peaceful provinces, not against China as a whole, but against the imperial Manchu Court and the Boxers, who began the struggle. The war, once begun, should have been fought to the finish. It should have continued till the Chinese generals and army had surrendered, till the guilty leaders of outrage had been handed over, and till the political offenders, from the Empress-Dowager and Prince Tuan down, had yielded submission to the will of the conqueror.

(4) The treatment which North China, and especially Peking, re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceived after occupation seems to me, as an eye-witness, to have been in the main moderate and proper, if the provocation is taken into account. That which in common parlance has been termed "looting," and which in all the larger forms was officially conducted or permitted, was a punishment more mild than was deserved, and lighter than had already been meted out at the hands of the Chinese themselves. Exception may be taken to particular incidents; but, viewing the matter as a whole, I confess that I hold to the belief that some such treatment was needed as a preventive of similar occurrences. (Such obtuseness!) Cities and villages, seething with Boxers, made up "the enemy," as well as the Regulars, the Braves, and the Banner troops. There may have been too much pillaging of real friendly non-combatants — and none of such cases have I ever approved — but there was also, if anything, too little confiscation of the property of those not only active in the war, but responsible for outrages too awful to imagine, but too serious to be forgotten. I may be pardoned for believing that the statement which I made in THE FORUM for July is the only worthy defence to be made of the occurrences which have been called looting — more worthy than the attempt to class all "appropriation of food and clothing" (etc.) for foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians as outside the sphere of "loot" and so innocent and commendable, while all that others took is wrong and reprehensible.

As to punitive expeditions, there may likewise be criticism of particulars, but in the main they proved a necessary warning to the Chinese. Without them there would have been no security whatever. Better still would it have been if, in addition to punishment, there had been effected, in conjunction with Chinese authority, an orderly government in the province as in Peking, so that the way might have been prepared for peaceful and creditable transfer at the time of evacuation.

War at all times is regarded as unequal to the arts of peace in helping on either religion or morality. Whether the outcome of the last China war will conduce to the spread of righteousness, the inauguration of reforms, the beginning of mutual good-will, and the advancement of Christian missions, we cannot now determine. The political condition of the country and of international relations hardly makes one optimistic. In whatever light the situation is viewed, more dissatisfaction than cheerfulness will be felt at the bewildering maze of an unusual international relationship.

GILBERT REID.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## ONE-SIDED TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

A VISITOR was recently shown through the rooms in which psychology is taught at one of America's famous schools for the training of teachers. The walls were covered with excellent diagrams and charts showing the different parts of the nervous system. The rooms were well supplied with expensive models of the brain and with delicate apparatus for testing the various kinds of nerve action. When the visitor was about to leave, the teacher told him she had no time to discuss *thinking* with her classes. Since this school is called the State Normal School, and is the only training school for teachers maintained at State expense in that Commonwealth, the visitor went away wondering whether that State would not ere long become missionary ground for the apostles of true education. To train, develop, and discipline the mind surely means more than the education of the spinal cord and of the gray matter of the brain. It involves more than the formation of habits based upon repeated nerve action. Important as the brain and the nervous system are in education, careful study of their functions cannot atone for the neglect of inquiry into the nature of thinking. The true test by which genuine teaching can be distinguished from its counterfeit, rote teaching, is found in thinking. The impressions conveyed to the mind through the gateways of knowledge must be interpreted and organized in thought; otherwise observation lessons have little value as factors in the mental growth of the child.

Many a young teacher has filled her mind with facts relating to nervous action, and with statements of the principles which are supposed to guide good teachers in all their teaching. Although these facts may prove valuable in the management of the individual child, and although the principles of teaching are at times helpful in making the needed preparation for giving a lesson, yet in the absorbing interest and enthusiasm which characterize instruction when it is at its best, these facts and principles sink into the subconscious realm, even if they are not entirely forgotten. At each step of the recitation the teacher's chief care is to make the pupils think the thoughts which the words enshrine; and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the supervisor tests the quality of instruction by ascertaining the quality of the thinking which the teacher begets in the pupils. If they repeat words without comprehending the meaning, the teaching is justly stigmatized as parrot work. If, on the other hand, they think the thoughts which the words embody, the class work, even if not above criticism, belongs to the category of good teaching. Mere nerve action may beget good habits; but if it does not involve the exercise of thought it cannot produce intelligent men and women. Routine work seldom appeals to the understanding; and review lessons which do not contain an element of new thought invariably tend to deaden the intellectual life. Whenever mental activity sinks to the level of mechanical routine, as in the excessive drill in number work either by the use of ratio-blocks or in the manipulation of the ten digits, the intelligence is apt to become dormant, and habit takes the place of thinking, although the exercises strike the casual observer as marvellous exhibitions of good teaching.

Let no one underestimate the importance of a careful study of the nervous system and the brain; nor should any one doubt that ultimately the discoveries of the psychological laboratory will prove valuable in constructing a rational system of pedagogy. But there are important, yea, fundamental questions in the science of education which cannot be solved by laboratory sections of the brain or by experiments upon the nerves of frogs and other animals. How to make a pupil think; how to cause him to know; by what means knowledge can be transformed into feeling, volition, and action; by what methods ideas can be made to germinate as seed thoughts, and bring forth a harvest of new thoughts, sentiments, and purposes — these are questions which, to say the least, deserve as much consideration on the part of those preparing to teach as the rate at which impressions upon the finger tips are conveyed to the brain.

Why has chess-playing never been introduced as part of the school curriculum? What school exercises concentrate attention more completely or beget more intense thinking than a good game of chess? Teaching has been defined as causing to know; and if the thinking which accompanies chess-playing gave the pupil as much valuable information, as much useful knowledge, as arithmetic and geography are believed to give, games of chess would long ago have found a place on the school programme. And yet many exercises which are defended on the ground that they cause the pupil to think, and that they furnish excellent discipline for the mental powers, do not leave a residuum of knowledge more extensive or more valuable than an average game of chess. Certain forms of thinking do not issue into knowing. The sequence of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideas in day-dreams, the reveries of the bachelor gazing at the fire upon the open hearth, and the discussions in which youthful minds, fond of disputation, indulge on all sorts of social, political, and religious questions, seldom end in the kind of knowledge which Locke defines as "firm belief in what is true on sufficient ground."

Many a course of lectures on metaphysics, instead of deepening the student's convictions and sending him from the university with a sense of something to be achieved, leaves the mind in a state of doubt on the great questions of time and eternity. While such lectures without doubt beget vigorous thinking and strengthen the understanding, they neither impart useful knowledge nor spur the will to action. In this respect the technical and professional schools have a decided advantage over the schools whose leading aim is intellectual culture, because they send their graduates into the world with definite ideals and purposes. The very words "preaching," "healing," "law-practice," "dentistry," "engineering" convey the idea that the graduates of technical and professional schools go forth from their *alma mater* with the sense of something they must do for the sake of humanity, either in alleviating misery and suffering or in promoting progress and civilization. Teaching which begets vigorous thinking and yet bears fruit chiefly in doubt and scepticism, far too often leaves the heart cold, and ends in paralysis of the higher volitional functions. The best university teaching inspires the student with the conviction that the boundaries of human knowledge can be extended; that there is something which he can discover by research and investigation; and that it is his mission not only to preserve and transmit all the scientific knowledge in possession of the race in the department which he has made a specialty, but also to add new truth to the sum of truths which lie at the basis of our modern civilized life. From this point of view teaching as a science and as an art looms up in immeasurable grandeur and appeals to the student as worthy of the best efforts of a lifetime.

The over-emphasis of any field of investigation in the training of teachers is fraught with disastrous consequences. Education is a mixed science, and derives its data from a number of other fields of investigation. Reformers are apt to see one phase of the truth very clearly. In emphasizing what they see and feel, they are in danger of neglecting other phases of the truth. While doing some good and perhaps getting their names into the treatises on the history of education, they also do great harm by the one-sided work which they introduce into the schools. The reformer often becomes a deformer, making sad havoc by his experiments upon human beings. Many reformers have given the world splen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did specimens of how not to do it. The visitor is often surprised to find how, in schools which were established to investigate educational problems by laboratory methods, the children being treated as means to an end very much like the materials used in laboratory experiments, everything gravitates, as the years pass, toward the traditional school; the reformers virtually acknowledging how difficult it is to improve upon that which has stood the test of ages. Reform will be possible as long as progress is possible; and it will be imperatively necessary wherever teachers go to extremes by emphasizing one phase of truth at the expense of other phases equally important. "One former is worth a thousand reformers"; and although the man himself may make little noise in the world, his work will get its stamp of approval from the successful career of the pupils whose minds were formed as well as informed under his tuition and guidance, and who were taught to think vigorously, to know clearly, to feel deeply, and to act well their part in the great drama of life.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## SUFFRAGE, NORTH AND SOUTH.

THERE has been a great deal of discussion during the last few years over the adoption by certain Southern States of new Constitutions which have had the effect of limiting suffrage. Much criticism and considerable sectional bitterness have been engendered by these constitutional provisions. The cause of this is evident enough, as it is quite apparent that the citizens of the Southern States have determined to maintain a dominant white political organization in the various localities, and that they can see no way to accomplish this except by restricting the privilege of voting on the part of the colored people. The regulations adopted in some States are more stringent than those in others, but the outcome everywhere has been a continued agitation. Resolutions of inquiry concerning the probable number of voters disfranchised have been offered in Congress, the object being of course to reduce the representation of the Southern States. The colored citizens of the North have strongly protested against the discrimination made by these constitutional enactments against their brethren living in the South. The question of race supremacy is involved, and is the moving cause for the amendments limiting suffrage. The entire social and political life of the South is said to be at stake.

The Civil War wrought violent changes in the material and social conditions of the Southern States, and years of tradition, long-standing customs, and well-established usages were cast to the four winds. The voting population was augmented by thousands of people who, with no experience in political life, had the ballot thrust upon them. Former landlords became tenants. In fact, the whole fabric of society had to be rebuilt. The federal Congress fixed the status of the negro so far as citizenship was concerned, and the white men of the South had to accept its decision under protest. The contest between the races has been waged with more or less intensity for almost thirty-five years. Much acrimonious discussion has been indulged in on the part of citizens of both North and South. Anathemas dire have been directed against political leaders for their attempt to disfranchise Southern Republicans.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Retorts come from the other side suggesting that the "Land of Dixie" has a perfect right to institute a system by which the votes of whites and blacks can be controlled upon such terms and conditions as may be deemed desirable; that the States of California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and other Commonwealths situated north of Mason and Dixon's line have prescribed qualifications necessary to vote, and that it is a poor rule that will not work both ways. And so the discussion proceeds with more or less earnestness.

Meantime the whole subject is to have the strong calcium light of figures thrown upon it. In other words, the data of the census office have reached the stage where they indicate how many people could exercise the right of suffrage in the absence of prohibitory enactments, how many decline to exercise the privilege of citizenship, and other equally interesting statistical facts. The Chief Statistician for Population has just completed a bulletin showing the population — by sex, nativity, color, voting age, and literacy and illiteracy — of all the States and Territories. For example, let us consider Alabama, Arkansas, California, and Connecticut. It is quite interesting to study the results somewhat in detail, relating to the States named, so far as they bear on the voting age of literacy and illiteracy.

Alabama is now in the throes of an election held for the purpose of adopting a new Constitution, and the question of limiting suffrage is the dominant issue. The members of the Constitutional Convention found that they had a population in the State of Alabama of 1,828,697, a growth in the last decade of about 315,860 people, or twenty-one per cent. It likewise appeared to the members of that body that they had 827,545 colored people to deal with, an increase of almost 150,000, or nearly twenty-two per cent, while the white people number 1,001,152, an increase since 1890 of twenty per cent. It can be readily seen that the blacks are growing in numbers in accordance with the scriptural injunction. Of this great mass of colored people we find that 181,500 are males over twenty-one years of age, and consequently voters under the former Constitution of the State of Alabama. Of the last number 108,000 are illiterate. The total number of white men entitled to vote if they chose to exercise the privilege is 232,296. It is noticeable that at the last Presidential election the entire black and white vote was only 162,300. In other words, only about seventy per cent of the entire voting population of the State of Alabama availed themselves of the right of citizenship. Inasmuch as there are in the State of Alabama over 200,000 white males over twenty-one years of age, and having

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sufficient education to comply with any ordinary rules and requirements, it is quite evident that a large number failed to vote. This may be explained by the fact that the State of Alabama is hopelessly Democratic, and that a large number of her citizens did not think it necessary to go to the polls.

The statistical results are evidence that 31,600 of the white voters are illiterate, while those of the blacks who can neither read nor write make a total of about 140,000. These would be denied the right of ballot in case of the enforcement of stringent rules regarding suffrage. Accordingly, if the present Convention should see fit to adopt a law similar to that of California, Massachusetts, or Connecticut, it is evident that for every white man who lost his vote by reason of the lack of educational qualifications three black men would lose their votes. It may be said, in passing, that education is on the increase among the colored people of Alabama. In 1890 there were only 41,007 blacks who were literate; in 1900 there were 73,533; showing an increase of about 80 per cent in literacy among the blacks. It is quite evident that the younger generation is attending school, and is reaping the advantages of our generous educational system. Ten years ago an educational test would have disfranchised a great many of the colored race; now there will be 30,000 more who can utilize their valuable privileges than then.

Arkansas has apparently never taken very much interest in the matter of constitutional restrictions of suffrage. The increase in the population in that Commonwealth has not quite kept pace with that in some of the other Southern States, as she has only added about sixteen per cent to her people during the last decade. Practically the same conditions prevail in Arkansas as in Alabama, so far as concerns the increase in the colored population. The increase in Arkansas in the number of colored people was about twenty per cent, while the increase of the whites was only twelve per cent. It is apparent that if these two States can be considered fairly representative of the conditions in the South, the colored population is steadily on the increase, and in proportion quite as great as, if not greater than, the white. It is to be noted also that among the colored people entitled to vote literacy has increased on a basis of fifty per cent during the last decade, while the illiterates are less in number than ten years ago by three per cent; marking a steady advance, from an educational standpoint, in the State of Arkansas. History repeats itself in this State so far as voting is concerned. While in 1900 there were in the State of Arkansas 313,832 males of voting age,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the election held during that year not more than 132,979 availed themselves of the privilege of going to the ballot box.

The white men entitled to vote, however, outnumber the blacks very materially in Arkansas, there being 226,593 white men and only 87,239 colored voters. In analyzing the figures returned from Arkansas, it is noticeable that the proportion of white illiterates is very large, being 23,522 out of a total of 226,000, in round numbers. Illiteracy on the part of the blacks is about 39,000 out of a total of 87,000 males over twenty-one. It can be readily seen that there would be no special advantage to the Arkansas people in passing stringent ballot laws, as the entire number of illiterates in the State is less than 63,000, of whom 23,000 are whites. In addition to this, the white voters greatly outnumber the blacks.

Let us consider the two other States in the group, California and Connecticut; the former, a rich agricultural and mineral State, a typical Western Commonwealth, progressive, and with a great future before it, in consequence of the possibilities of trade with the Orient just opening; the latter, a manufacturing State in the Eastern group, its population becoming rich through frugality and accumulation.

California has many Chinese, but it allows none of them to vote. That State enforces very strict regulations so far as the rest of its citizens are concerned. Its Constitution provides that no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language and write his name shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in the State. Out of 544,000 males of twenty-one years of age and over, only 302,000 availed themselves of the right to vote at the last Presidential election. There are of white, colored, and Chinese illiterates about 34,000. It is not observed that California insists upon a reduced representation in the Congressional body on account of the Chinese and other illiterates who do not vote in that State. The Chinese question in California seems to be righting itself; for while the number of Chinese reported in 1890 was 72,472, the present number, according to the last returns, is only 45,754; showing a decrease of almost forty per cent. The negroes, of whom there is a very small number, remain practically unchanged. The Japanese, however, have increased almost 1,000 per cent. In 1890, they numbered 1,147 only. According to the returns just tabulated, there are now 10,142 in California, which seems to indicate that the people of that State prefer the Japanese to their Mongolian brothers as residents within their borders.

In the State of Connecticut, where there is a male population of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voting age numbering 280,340, there are only 5,204 colored voters. The colored people apparently do not care for the climate of Connecticut. The great mass of the illiterates of this State consists of white people. There are but 719, out of the whole number of colored citizens, who do not read or write. On the other hand, there are 18,265 illiterate whites of voting age. This latter figure is almost unexplainable, as Connecticut is one of the oldest States, and has had, presumably, an excellent common-school system. Out of 280,000 men of voting age, 22,000 were apparently ruled out on account of restrictions concerning the right of suffrage. Article 29 of the State Constitution, adopted in October, 1897, provides that every person shall be able to read in the English language any article of the Constitution or any section of the statutes of the States before being admitted as an elector. Only 181,000 availed themselves of their political rights at the last Presidential election. It is quite difficult to understand this, as one would have expected from the political situation in Connecticut that all her citizens would take an interest in the outcome of the election.

We have briefly considered the situation in four States — two in the South, one in the West, and one in the Northeast — so far as restrictions obtain limiting suffrage. At least three Northern States have passed stringent laws. Alabama is about to enact similar legislation. Arkansas has none, except the payment of a poll tax. Virginia is just now changing her Constitution, and the question of suffrage excites great interest.

It is a fortunate thing that we are able to give the actual figures concerning the very interesting conditions involved in the whole plan of suffrage at this particular time. It is well that the discussion should go on, and that the whole country should realize that while attempts are being made in certain Southern States to limit the privilege of exercising the ballot, the same end has already been obtained in some Northern Commonwealths. Another very important fact to be gathered from the statistics published by the census bureau is the large number of people who are entitled to avail themselves of their political privileges and who fail to do so. It is evident that the spur should be used to induce people to take advantage of the rights accorded them under the Constitution.

The population of negroes throughout the entire country has increased practically in the same ratio as the white population, there being 8,840,789 as against 7,488,788 in the year 1890. The growth is a trifle over eighteen per cent. So it can be readily seen that the racial question is likely to be with us for years to come; for there is not the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slightest probability that the negro will occupy an unimportant place in our civilization. What to do with him is the problem.

The training of the school is of course a valuable factor so far as his future is concerned. The data thus far gained are a sufficient evidence that literacy among the colored race has made quite an appreciable increase during the last decade. For example, in Alabama 72.2 per cent of the colored people were illiterate in 1890, and in 1900 the number was reduced to 59.5 per cent; in Virginia the reduction was approximately a little over fourteen per cent; in Mississippi it was the same. Throughout the five States in the South containing the largest aggregate population the average reduction was about thirteen per cent, showing a hopeful gain in the number of those who can read and write. These facts have an important bearing upon the question of suffrage in the principal Southern States, for the reason that in most Commonwealths the educational qualification is a usual one, thus indicating that in the decades to come the colored man, by reason of his rudimentary instruction, will have more or less to say concerning the conditions of government.

The question as to just what occupation seems to be best adapted to the negro of the future is open to discussion. While the school system gives him many advantages in the way of a higher standing among his fellowmen, it is debatable whether he can put them to any practical use in the way of gaining a livelihood, save in so far as he utilizes his ability to read and write. There does not appear to be much opening for him in the field of clerical work, social distinctions making it impossible to give him the fullest opportunities in this direction. The suggestion made by Mr. Booker T. Washington, that he learn the trades, would apparently be the most practical solution of this vexing question. The colored man can be a good carpenter, a good stone-cutter, a good builder, and a good machinist; and from any one of these sources he can obtain a respectable livelihood. There seems to be really no satisfactory solution of this most complex, and at the same time interesting, problem in our social life, time apparently being needed to determine what results may be finally accomplished. WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## RECIPROCITY AND FOREIGN TRADE.

THE great increase in the products of manufactures in the United States and the need of new markets in which to dispose of the surplus have brought into unusual prominence the subject of reciprocity. This means of extending trade received the approval of the Republican National Conventions in 1896 and in 1900. President McKinley appointed the Hon. John A. Kasson as a Special Commissioner to negotiate treaties for this purpose. Mr. Kasson succeeded in making limited reciprocal arrangements, not requiring further action by Congress, with France, Portugal, Italy, and Germany. These arrangements are now in effect. They were authorized under Section 3 of the Dingley tariff law. Section 4 of the same act provides for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties to be ratified by the Senate and "approved by Congress." Under that section Mr. Kasson negotiated treaties with Great Britain for the British West Indies, with Denmark for the Island of St. Croix, and also with France, the Argentine Republic, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. Pourparlers took place with Germany and Russia, but the negotiation of treaties with those two countries awaits the action of the Senate on the French treaty; Mr. Kasson having stated that if this treaty is not approved "it will be vain to attempt any others in Europe."

In the meantime there has been a growing agitation on the subject. President McKinley, in his last speech at Buffalo, made strong declarations in favor of reciprocity treaties, thus bringing the question into great prominence. Numerous commercial bodies throughout the country have declared in favor of such treaties, and the National Association of Manufacturers called a convention to consider the matter. President Roosevelt, when taking the oath of office, declared his purpose "to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley," a declaration which commits him, if not to the Kasson treaties, at least to that method of extending trade and opening new markets.

Some conception of the need of new markets may be gained from the census statistics of our national growth since 1870. The census of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that year showed an increase in the population, as compared with 1860, of 22.23 per cent. The gross value of manufactures in 1870 was $3,385,000,000, an increase of seventy-nine per cent over 1860. Ten years later, in 1880, the population had increased 30.8 per cent, while the increase in the gross value of manufactures was fifty-eight per cent, the total being $5,349,000,000. The next census, that of 1890, showed an increase in population of 24.86 per cent, and an increase in the gross value of manufactures of sixty-nine per cent, the total reaching the sum of $9,056,000,000. The increase in the population reported by the census of 1900 was twenty-one per cent, while that in the gross value of manufactures, so far as the returns have been made up, was about fifty-four per cent. The gross value of manufactured products in 1900 will not vary far from $13,000,000,000. The figures for the whole country will not be complete for some time yet, but they were complete for many of the States at the time this article was written. There is a large amount of duplication in the census returns of the gross value of products, owing to the fact that partially manufactured products which become the raw materials of ultimate products are counted more than once. The amount of this duplication, however, was proportionately the same at each census, so that the figures are correct for comparative purposes. This duplication will be eliminated for the first time in the final figures of the twelfth census, and the net products will, of course, be very much less than the gross products.

But for the purpose of comparison the gross products are properly used and show the stupendous proportions of our national growth in production. In the same time that the population increased 98.54 per cent, the value of the products of manufactures increased 260 per cent. Consumption has increased with the growing prosperity of the nation, but is far behind the increase in the products. Hence the pressing need of additional markets. For instance, the flour mills in the United States have the capacity to manufacture into flour in the period of eight months all the wheat grown in this country in a year; and yet in the last fiscal year 102,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported. The cotton mills in the United States can produce in eight months all the cotton goods that this country consumes in twelve months. Such facts as these demonstrate the absolute need of foreign markets. A reduction of the tariff does not provide additional markets. That was amply demonstrated under the Wilson tariff act. One of the great advantages claimed for that law by its authors was that it would greatly increase our exports. But the exports under the McKinley tariff law in the fis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal year of 1892 were $147,671,210 greater than were the exports under the Wilson act in 1896, just before the election of Mr. McKinley as President. Reducing the tariff to increase the foreign trade of the country, particularly in the matter of exports, proved a disastrous experiment, while at the same time it brought about a large decrease in home consumption as a result of the closing of mills and the enforced idleness of an army of workmen. The passage of the Dingley law increasing duties led to an enormous increase in the exports, which were $577,846,871 greater in the fiscal year of 1901 than in the fiscal year of 1896. There was a similar increase in exports after the passage of the McKinley act, which also increased duties, up to the time that the silver question and the probable repeal of the law, the result of an election, interfered with business. Exports are not increased by a reduction of duties which injures home industries.

The method of extending trade by reciprocity treaties has apparently grown greatly in public favor of late. There does not seem to be a very clear conception of what is precisely meant by reciprocity, which may account for the singular fact that both the advocates and the opponents of the protective tariff are advocating such treaties. For instance, the Republican State Convention in Iowa and the Democratic State Convention in Massachusetts both declared in favor of reciprocity treaties; and these treaties are advocated by both Republican and Democratic newspapers. Free-trade journals assert that reciprocity is either free trade under another name or is a step in the direction of free trade, but these assertions are resented by the advocates of the tariff. Both are in a measure right. It depends on the nature of the treaties. What are known as the Blaine reciprocity treaties — technically only agreements — negotiated under the authority of the McKinley law, did not lessen in any degree the protection afforded home industries by that act; but some of the Kasson treaties, negotiated under the authority of the Dingley law, provide for a reduction of rates which lessens the protection given, whether needed or not, to home industries. That accounts for the fact that those treaties have not been ratified by the Republican Senate. The Republicans were all satisfied with the Blaine reciprocity agreements. But the latter were unceremoniously abrogated by the Democrats, when they came into power under President Cleveland's second administration. The Kasson treaties have met with strong opposition in the Republican party, and with Democratic approval in proportion to Republican disapproval. The Democrats who approve those treaties believe, as a rule, that they are so many steps in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

direction of free trade. A similar view accounts for Republican disapproval.

Reciprocity treaties are not a new thing. They have been more or less common in Europe. One was negotiated between England and Portugal in 1703. The series of German treaties, beginning with that between Prussia and Hesse in 1828, led to the establishment of the Zollverein, and later, in 1853, to the treaty between the Zollverein and Austria. The treaty between England and France in 1860 was negotiated with the intention of aiding in bringing about free trade. President Hadley, of Yale University, tells in an article on reciprocity how Napoleon, unable to secure in the regular way a reduction of the French tariff, adopted the method of negotiating a reciprocity treaty with a view to giving the benefits of it to other nations under the most favored nation clause, thus indirectly accomplishing his purpose. President Hadley, himself an eminent free trader, declares that this system has worked "strongly in favor of free trade." No doubt that would be the effect whenever the duties on home products were reduced below the protective point, as it is contended would be the effect of some of the Kasson treaties. True reciprocity, as generally understood by Republicans, is described in the national platform of 1900 as a policy "so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets." It has been concisely and graphically defined by the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General, in these words:

> "Its principle, rightly understood, is axiomatic. Brazil grows coffee and makes no machinery. We make machinery and grow no coffee. She needs the fabrics of our forges and factories, and we need the fruit of her tropical soil. We agree to concessions for her coffee and she agrees to concessions for our machinery. That is reciprocity."

President McKinley defined reciprocity in these words: "It is to afford new markets for our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, without loss to the American laborer of a single day's work that he might otherwise procure." In his inaugural address he declared himself in favor of reciprocity, "the end in view always to be the opening up of new markets for the products of our country, by granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves, and which do not involve any loss in labor to our own people, but tend to increase their employment." In the last speech he ever made, referring to this question of reciprocity, he said: "By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus."

That was the principle of the agreements made under the McKinley tariff law. The articles that were admitted to the United States under those treaties were sugar, tea, coffee, and hides. They were products which the United States was compelled to import to a very large extent if not altogether, and their importation did not involve any injurious competition with domestic products. Hence there was never any objection to those agreements. The same is true of the reciprocity agreements now in effect negotiated under Section 3 of the Dingley tariff act with France, Portugal, Italy, and Germany. They provide for the admission, at reduced rates, of argols, crude tartar, and wine lees crude; brandies; champagne and other sparkling wines; still wines and vermouth; and paintings and statuary. The admission of such articles does not involve competition with home products to an injurious extent.

But when Mr. Kasson went beyond the limits of what Republicans generally regard as true reciprocity, and provided for a reduction of duties on products of other nations that compete with similar products of the United States, the trouble began. The French treaty, the one that has aroused most opposition, was regarded as a test of how far Congress would be willing to go in carrying out reciprocity agreements of that kind. Mr. Kasson, in addressing the Senate Committee, said:

"I am holding back from any fresh negotiations, under the fourth section of the tariff act, in order to get the judgment of the Senate upon this plan of reciprocity, because I have put my best effort into this French treaty, and if it is not to be ratified, of course there is no propriety in my going on and making governmental embarrassment in that respect. If this highly advantageous treaty cannot be approved I consider it vain to attempt any others in Europe."

That being the situation, and the French treaty still awaiting the action of the Senate, an examination of its contents will give a better idea than can be obtained in any other way of the differences of opinion on this subject of reciprocity.

The fourth section of the tariff act provides for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, with such countries as shall make such return as is deemed to be for the interests of the United States, within two years from the time the act takes effect, by a reduction of duties to the extent of not more than twenty per cent on the part of the United States, or by the transfer from the dutiable to the free list of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States. These treaties were to last for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

five years and then until abrogated, and were to be duly "ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress." Under this provision Mr. Kasson made the treaty with France, signed July 24, 1899, under which all products of the United States excepting horses, butter, cast iron, boots and shoes, machine tools, eggs, cheese, honey, and a few other things were to be admitted to France at the minimum rates of duties, the tariff act of that country providing for minimum and maximum rates. In return it was provided that certain specified products of France or Algeria should be admitted to the United States at reductions in duty varying from five to twenty per cent of the existing rates. The specified articles to be admitted at this reduction in duty from France or Algeria were 463 in number, including silk goods, cotton goods, gloves, articles of flax and hemp, chemicals, perfumery, earthenware and glassware to a limited extent, cutlery, plants and seeds, hats, musical instruments, etc.

These things are nearly all produced in the United States. This at once brought up the question as to whether or not the reduction of duties provided for in the treaty on any of these articles would hurt home industries. Mr. Kasson took the ground that no injury would result, or that if any did follow it would be very small and would be more than counterbalanced by the benefits that would accrue to other industries which would secure entrance into France under the minimum rates of duty, the United States now having to pay the maximum rates. The Home Market Club of Boston, the American Iron and Steel Association, and other protective-tariff organizations opposed the treaty on the ground that it would injure American industries. The battle was fought before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and as a result the treaty was not reported to the Senate. It is still pending, however, but with little prospect of its ratification.

Mr. Kasson holds that such of the duties as would be dispensed with under the treaty with France are surplus duties not needed by the American industries concerned. If they are surplus duties and not needed, the concession would be of no advantage to France. If the home industries could compete successfully under the reduced duties, the French products affected could not be sold in the United States any more than is now the case; and if France were making genuine concessions to the United States she would be giving something for nothing. It is not probable that France contemplated doing anything of the kind. A very little investigation will show that some of the American industries concerned would either have to reduce prices — and that generally means

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a reduction in wages — to meet this increased competition, or else they would suffer a partial loss of the home market. For instance, the treaty provides for a reduction of five per cent in the duties on the manufactures of silk. During the calendar year of 1900 the imports of silk goods from France, under the present rates of duty, were valued at $14,360,318; and it is clear that these imports would be largely increased by any reduction of duties. The importations of silk in 1900 from all countries aggregated $30,000,000 in value. That demonstrates that the United States manufacturers of silk are not able, under the tariff as it now exists, to supply anything like the entire demand of the home market. The Senate Committee was informed that a number of silk mills closed during the last season because of their inability to dispose of their products at a profit. According to those engaged in this industry a reduction of duties, under such circumstances, would clearly be injurious to it. The industry has been built up to large proportions by the protective tariff, the total production last year reaching, according to the census, the gross value of $107,256,258. That the duties are neither prohibitory nor excessive is proved by the large importations.

Cotton goods afford another case in point. A reduction is made of twenty per cent in the duties on knitted goods of cotton. In the fiscal year of 1901 such knitted goods were imported to the extent of $5,461,704; showing clearly that the duties are not high enough at present to exclude this class of goods. It is true that the imports of cotton knitted goods from France were only $343,731 in value, though the imports of all cotton goods from France, on which reduced rates are provided, aggregated $5,550,460. But the ratification of the French treaty necessarily means the ratification of similar treaties with other countries. Mr. Kasson himself explained to the Senate Committee that he was only waiting for the Senate to act on this particular treaty to determine whether or not to go on negotiating similar treaties with Germany and other countries. The imports of cotton goods from all countries similar to those on which reductions of duties are provided for in the French treaty aggregated in value in the last fiscal year about $30,000,000. It is evident that there is no surplus duty there. In the cotton knitted goods industry alone 100,000 people are employed in the United States. Anything which affects that industry to its injury will hurt all these people.

The treaty makes a concession of twenty per cent, the entire duty, on furs for hats. Previous to the McKinley law our hatters imported cut fur. The duty caused the cutting to be done in this country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mills were established in several States, and have been doing a good business. The French treaty entirely removes the protection, so far as France is concerned, on furs for hats. This would mean the end of the fur-cutting industry in the United States, or a reduction of wages. A cut is made of ten per cent on gloves. The glove-making industry has grown in the United States to large proportions since fair protection was given under our tariff laws; and yet in 1900 we imported $6,107,765 worth of gloves. France supplied $2,260,999 of that total, and Germany $2,796,024. Any concession made to France will also have to be made to Germany, or Germany can be depended upon to retaliate promptly. Can it be said that there is any surplus duty on gloves now when the importations aggregate in value such a large amount? A great deal of our foreign trade is done on a profit of five per cent or less. A reduction of ten per cent in the duties on gloves apparently means a large increase in the importations, which must take a considerable part of the home market away from our home producers. It is not necessary to quote further from that treaty to show why the Senate refused to ratify it, and why it has small prospect of ratification in the future.

The treaties with Great Britain for the West India Islands, and with some of the countries to the south of us, provide for the admission of fruits and vegetables at reduced rates of duty. These treaties were opposed by California senators and by some of the Southern senators on the ground that these reductions of duty would result in dangerous competition with the products of those States, particularly with the important citrus industry of California, to say nothing of the effect on Porto Rico. The Argentine treaty provided, among other things, for a reduction of twenty per cent in the duty on wool. The average import cost of fine Argentine wool in 1900 was about sixteen cents a pound, and the same wool in October of this year cost only eight cents. A reduction in the duty of twenty per cent would probably bring in so much of that wool at so low a cost as to involve a reduction in the price of American wool, which would injure the important wool-growing industry. The Argentine Republic produces vast quantities of wool, and the wool growers vigorously assert that a reduction in the duty such as that proposed in the treaty would be injurious to this American industry. That is why the Argentine treaty was not ratified by the Senate. If the duty on raw wool were reduced, it would involve a reduction in the duty on the manufactures of wool, because that duty was fixed in harmony with the duty on the raw material.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hence the ratification of the Argentine treaty might have involved further tariff legislation with all its evil consequences. It seems clear that President McKinley's declaration in favor of treaties "granting concessions to the products of other lands that we need and cannot produce ourselves," was violated by the French and Argentine treaties. Some industries, such as the agricultural-implement industry, would be benefited by both the French and the Argentine treaties, but others would be injured, and President McKinley in his last speech declared against "interrupting home production."

President Roosevelt has wisely uttered the warning that "we have got to remember that our first duty is to our own people," a very pertinent remark when it is considered that of the aggregate product of the twenty-two largest manufacturing industries in the United States, by the census of 1890, only 6.9 per cent in value was exported. The production reached $5,341,272,850 in value, and the exports $368,778,051. It appears by the census figures that the gross value of the products of manufactures in 1900 was about $13,000,000,000. The exports of manufactures in that year aggregated in value $433,851,756, or about three per cent of the total product. The tremendous importance of the home market is thus made clear. When concessions in duties on competing products are made we either give to the foreign competitor a part of our home market, or we give him nothing for something, provided that he gives us anything in return. That some industries will be injured under this treaty seems indisputable. Mr. James Deering, in a vigorous advocacy of the French treaty before the Senate Committee, speaking for the manufacturers of agricultural implements, said: "From our investigation of this matter we are led to believe — I state this with an object — that the advantages of the reciprocity treaty proposed are largely with America, and that those manufacturers who would be favored by the treaty would be much more benefited financially than those manufacturers who would be injured financially." A truism; but what Mr. Deering intended to say was that the manufacturers who would be benefited would gain more than the injured manufacturers would lose, as he explained that the implement manufacturers believed in "the greatest good of the greatest number." The admission that the treaty would be injurious to certain industries makes its advocacy in direct conflict with President McKinley's declaration that no industry should be injured. The people of this country will hardly agree that to benefit two men another man should be robbed of something he now has.

Some change in our commercial relations with France is evidently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

needed. We are now unjustly discriminated against by that country. France has a peculiar tariff system which American legislators might well take into consideration, if such a system would not be in conflict with our Constitution. She has a general high protective tariff that applies to all the world, and a "minimum tariff," varying according to articles from fifteen per cent to seventy-five per cent, with an average of about twenty-five per cent, below the general or maximum tariff. On certain articles the rates are the same in both tariffs, and there is a free list. The minimum tariff is given to such countries only as make special concessions to France in return. All the nations of Europe, excepting Portugal, have the benefit of the minimum tariff. The United States is in the same category as Portugal.

France annually imports considerably over $100,000,000 in value of manufactures. The United States supplies a little over two per cent of that total. Great Britain supplies about thirty-six per cent, and Germany about twenty-six per cent. Of the merchandise from all countries imported by France free of duty, excepting raw silk and wool, the United States, competing on equal terms, furnishes, according to Mr. Kasson, thirty-six per cent; and of the dutiable merchandise on which the rates are the same in both the maximum and minimum tariffs the United States supplies thirty-five per cent. But of the merchandise imports subject to maximum and minimum rates the United States supplies only about two per cent. These figures are given by Mr. Kasson to show what the United States might gain by getting the benefit of the minimum rates. He says that the treaty would involve a loss of about $1,000,000 in duties on existing imports from France and would increase our exports from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000. But if the United States makes reciprocal concessions France must necessarily increase her exports to this country to the same amount. And France sends to us goods manufactured in a high degree, while we send to her largely raw products. A $30,000,000 increase in her sales here would take that much of our market away from some home producers to benefit others, who would increase their sales in France.

France discriminates against the United States in many ways. She more than doubled the duties on our meat products very suddenly, raising both maximum and minimum rates, so that when the reciprocity treaty should take effect the duties would still be high. A bill was introduced in the French Assembly to double the duty on cotton-seed oil, and then notice was given that it would be suspended awaiting the result of the reciprocity negotiations. Maximum rates were also increased

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on other of our products. Steps were taken to impose the maximum rate on our petroleum, now admitted at the minimum rate. That proposition was "held up" pending the outcome of the treaty negotiations. Russian petroleum has the minimum rate. The maximum rate would increase the duty on American petroleum, if the same quantity were imported, by $4,500,000 annually. Mr. Kasson says: "We cannot now send a box of goods on a steamer sailing under the United States flag to Southampton or Antwerp, or other port outside of France, and have it transshipped and go into France at the same rate of duty as if shipped direct to a French port" — a discrimination against American steamship lines. There are discriminating orders against American cattle, sheep, etc. Export bounties are paid on flour to drive the United States out of the English and other markets.

If we take as our basis the trade of 1897, we find that the loss of revenue the United States would sustain under the French treaty would amount to about $1,000,000, while on the same basis the French, according to Mr. Kasson, would lose less than $300,000. But the French negotiator declared that if the treaty were not ratified petroleum and cotton-seed oil would be taken off the minimum tariff and subjected to the maximum tariff rates, which, if taken into consideration, would make the French loss about $5,000,000. The question is: Shall the United States be forced into a treaty by such threats? No discrimination whatever is made by us against any foreign nation; and yet we are directly and avowedly discriminated against by France, Germany, and some other countries.

France sells to the United States a great deal more than she buys in return; hence any talk of her making a tariff war against this country is absurd. In the fiscal year of 1901, according to the Treasury statistics, the imports from France were $75,454,098, and the exports to that country $78,923,914. But owing to our faulty system of statistics, about $15,000,000 of exports to Switzerland are counted as exports to France. For instance, our figures show imports from Switzerland in 1900 of $17,393,268 and exports of $250,477 in value. That on the face of it is absurd. As a matter of fact, as shown by the official returns of Switzerland, that country imports from the United States nearly as much as it exports to this country. But under our statistical system exports are counted as going to the country where they are landed; and as nearly all our exports to Switzerland go through France, they appear in our statistics as exports to France. Hence, when we deduct the exports to Switzerland, as shown by the official returns of that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country, from the total of the exports to France, the French imports from the United States are reduced to about $63,000,000, as compared with our imports from France of over $75,000,000, leaving a balance in favor of France of about $12,000,000.

That shows the folly of French threats of "retaliation," which mean more discrimination. There is a provision in our statutes[1] which authorizes the President, when satisfied that unjust discriminations are made by any foreign state against any product of the United States, to retaliate by excluding from the United States such products of such foreign state as he may deem proper, until such discrimination against the United States is removed. A judicious use of that power would probably soon end the discriminations which are made by the French against the United States, and which apply to no other country, and would relieve us of threats of further discriminations.

When we go outside of the lines laid down in the last Republican National platform favoring treaties that "open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce," it is very difficult to make a reciprocity treaty not in conflict with the protective tariff. With one exception, all treaties that have been made to include for admission into the United States at lower rates of duty articles that we produce have been refused ratification by the Senate or have failed to receive the approval of Congress. The treaty of 1854 with Canada did admit from that country articles produced in the United States; and as a result it was a failure so far as this country was concerned, and was abrogated by our Government. In the fiscal year of 1854, the last one before the treaty went into effect, the exports from the United States to Canada, as given by the Treasury Department, aggregated in value $24,157,612, while for the fiscal year of 1866, the last one while the treaty was in effect, the exports were in value $23,439,115, a loss of $718,497. On the other hand, the imports from Canada in 1854 were $8,784,412 in value, and in 1866 they were $48,133,599, an increase of nearly 500 per cent, showing the jug-handled effect of that treaty. In 1874 another treaty was negotiated, but the United States Senate refused to ratify it.

The next commercial treaty, that made with the Hawaiian Islands, was more for political than for commercial purposes; but during nearly the whole time of its existence the annual imports from Hawaii were several times greater than the exports to that country. A treaty was negotiated with Mexico which would have admitted some things produced in the United States, but Congress refused to carry it into effect.

[1] Section 5 of the Act of August 30, 1890.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Under the Harrison administration there was negotiated with France a treaty which was not ratified, and which failed also to receive the approval of the French Chamber of Deputies. The reciprocity agreements made under the McKinley law of 1890 neither raised nor lowered duties. Sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides were placed on the free list by that law, and the President was authorized to reimpose duties, as specified in the act, on those articles coming from countries which imposed duties or other exactions upon products of the United States which he might "deem to be reciprocally unequal and unjust." Colombia, Haiti, and Venezuela refused to make any reciprocal return, and duties were accordingly reimposed on such products coming from those countries. But Brazil and some other countries made in return reductions on certain products of the United States. Those agreements benefited some industries, though the statistics do not show very great benefits as a whole excepting in the case of Cuba. Under the treaty with Guatemala, the first agreement to take effect under that law, the exports were less every year the treaty was in effect than was the case the year before it came into operation. With Honduras there was the same result. The same thing was true of Nicaragua, and the exports to Salvador and the British West Indies made a like showing. In the case of Santo Domingo there was a slight increase in exports. The exports to Cuba more than doubled, and those to Porto Rico remained about stationary. In the case of Brazil there was a considerable decline after the first year the treaty was in effect. In the case of British Guiana there was a slight increase. There was a very large decline after the first year in the exports to Austria-Hungary, and no particular change in the case of Germany.

While in the aggregate trade there did not seem to be any very marked improvement under those reciprocity agreements, excepting in the case of Cuba and British Guiana, yet the treaties to a large extent were in effect at a time of declining trade generally, and thus were not fairly tested. Eight of the twelve reciprocity agreements went into effect in 1892, the year of the defeat of the Republican party in a presidential election, which made it fairly certain that a law would be passed reducing the tariff rates, and abrogating these reciprocity agreements, which, in connection with the prospects as to other legislation, had a very injurious effect on commerce. The decline in exports was not as great in the case of the reciprocity countries as it was in the case of those countries not included in such agreements. The exports of flour, iron, and steel were considerably larger to the countries included in these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreements while they were in force than had been the case previously. The undiplomatic way in which the Democrats cancelled those agreements caused a good deal of ill-feeling on the part of the nations concerned; and, as a result, Austria, Germany, and some other countries began to discriminate against the United States, and have kept up that practice more or less ever since.

The United States has apparently made a mistake in putting coffee and some other things on the free list instead of using them for reciprocity purposes. This applies particularly to South America. Of its products imported into the United States ninety-two per cent are admitted free of duty. But of the United States exports to the countries of South America we pay duty on all. We furnish to those countries fifteen per cent of their imports and purchase of them thirty per cent of their exports; showing in their case that buying from a country does not result in return sales. In ten years we sold to the countries south of us $904,000,000, while we bought of them $2,135,000,000. In thirty years we purchased of Brazil $1,500,000,000 worth of her products, and sold to her only about $250,000,000 worth of our products, which compelled us to pay the enormous sum of $1,250,000,000 in gold or its equivalent to settle the balance of trade. Nearly every cent of that sum has gone into the pockets of European merchants and manufacturers. The exchange alone charged by the London bankers on this business, as reported by a congressional committee, aggregated at least $10,000,000, and we paid to owners of English ships $30,000,000 in the same transaction. And yet Brazil to-day discriminates against us. She charges a higher duty on flour, for instance, when it comes from the United States than when it comes from the Argentine Republic. She does this in return for a reduction of duties by the Argentine Republic on Brazilian coffee, whereas we admit that coffee free of duty, and in the last fiscal year imported from Brazil $70,643,347 in value of her products, while the Argentine Republic did not take $4,000,000 worth. This illustrates how the United States has thrown away opportunities for reciprocal trade by putting an article like coffee on the free list, and then submitting to unjust discrimination on the part of such a country as Brazil, from which we import nearly six times as much as we export to her.

One great obstacle in the way of the extension of our commerce is our lack of steamship facilities. Much of our trade with South America is done by way of Europe. The United States has not a single line of steamships running to the River Plate, although, as the United States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Minister at Buenos Ayres reports, there are "numberless lines of European steamships running to and from the River Plate." He relates how trade has to be carried on with the United States by way of Europe, and shows how impossible it is for it to grow much under such conditions. And the River Plate is not alone in this respect. Without direct and frequent steamship communication trade cannot be successfully conducted with any country; and as long as we continue to depend on foreigners to do our ocean-carrying trade, our exports to South America and many other countries will remain of comparatively small importance, and reciprocity treaties will not help us much.

E. J. GIBSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## LICENSED GAMBLING IN BELGIUM.

NOT long ago the well-beloved son of a wealthy and influential citizen of Belgium lost a fortune in one of the great gambling establishments that flourish so vigorously in that country under the protection of the laws of the kingdom. This young man's experience at the gaming tables was by no means exceptional. A like misfortune had overtaken many young men before him, and it has overtaken many since; but in this particular instance it appears to have had the effect of arousing the righteous indignation of a resourceful father, who is popularly credited with having caused the introduction of an anti-gambling bill into the Belgium Parliament. This bill divided the attention of that legislative body, at its late session, with a radical measure for the extension of the popular suffrage throughout the kingdom, proposals for the reorganization of the army, and the Congo bill, definitely assigning to Belgium a place among the colonizing nations of Europe.

The agitation awakened by this movement possesses a peculiar interest and significance, by reason of the fact that Belgium may now be said to be the only important country in Europe where gambling organizations flourish practically by the authority of the general Government, and where gaming clubs are conducted under the direct surveillance of representatives of the governments of those cities where such establishments exist. To be sure, Monaco furnishes a conspicuous exception to this statement; but inasmuch as that little principality ranks as the personal perquisite of its reigning prince, who conducts the affairs of his miniature realm to suit his own inclinations, regardless of the wishes of his subjects, it is scarcely necessary to consider Monte Carlo in this reckoning. It is likewise a notorious fact that gambling, in one form or another, and on a more or less extensive scale, is carried on under distinguished patronage in nearly all the great capitals of Europe, where gambling scandals, affecting the character and reputation of people high in social, political, and military station, frequently challenge the attention of the authorities. In nearly all the continental watering-places there are *cercles* in the casinos where roulette, baccarat, and *petits che-*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*vaux* are played, on a comparatively small scale, without any pretence of official interference. Outside of Belgium and Monaco, however, these and other games of chance are played in defiance of law, and only where the local authorities choose to wink at them.

Under existing conditions in Belgium, authority is given to the communal governments of Ostende, Spa, and certain other municipalities to permit games of chance to be played within their jurisdiction, under such regulation, and in consideration of such pecuniary compensation, as they may severally prescribe. For the purpose of illustrating the practical operation of this privilege and the extent to which advantage is taken of it, it will be sufficient to describe its application to Ostende, the great cosmopolitan watering-place on the Belgian coast, which attracts tens of thousands of outside visitors during the summer season, and provides very much the same sort of entertainment in summer as Monte Carlo does during the other seasons of the year.

Ostende is within less than six hours' journey from the great capitals of London, Paris, and Brussels, and with its refreshingly cool and invigorating sea-breezes, and extensive hotel accommodations, it incidentally offers peculiarly strong and easily accessible attractions to the vast throngs of gay and festive dwellers in the leading European capitals, who crave more pungent and lively recreation than is afforded them at the more quiet and conventional summer resorts. All the countries of Europe, as well as North and South America, are numerously and conspicuously represented at Ostende during the summer season; and no effort is spared by the local authorities to provide the kind of dissipation these representatives of cosmopolis seek. The daily routine is at once brilliant, giddy, and gorgeous; and the spectacle presented during a pleasant summer afternoon or evening on the magnificent terra-cotta promenade, which stretches for more than three miles along this section of the coast of the North Sea, is unrivalled for color, vivacity, and brilliancy. On the outer side of the promenade is the beautiful beach, thronged with rollicking bathers and little children with their nurses, playing in the sand, and on the inner side is a long row of hotels, restaurants, and private villas, with picturesque and imposing façades heightening the effect of the panorama. Looming high above the rest, on an abrupt promontory, is the royal chalet where King Leopold enjoys the summer sea-breezes when he is not yachting up and down the adjacent main. There is no lack of popular diversions provided for all sorts of tastes, and they achieve their obvious purpose of attracting all sorts of people.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The central feature of the fine array of architecture on the sea front is the Kursaal, wherein music, theatrical performances, and dancing and lounging accommodations are provided for those who pay a modest price for admission thereto. This Kursaal was erected and is owned and conducted by the city, as is the gambling hall, which is practically under the same roof. The gambling establishment is nominally controlled and managed by a single individual, who is understood to have a number of Berlin bankers as his silent partners. In payment for the exclusive privilege of carrying on the gambling business under municipal surveillance, this man pays to the municipality of Ostende 2,500,000 francs annually. The latest concession was granted two years ago on somewhat higher terms than those obtained under the previous grants, and it has two years yet to run, unless it is sooner terminated by the enactment of the proposed law prohibiting the making of contracts for such purposes, and cancelling all those now in existence. During the four years covered by the present concession, therefore, the amount of money which the management of the gaming tables has agreed to pay to the city of Ostende is 10,000,000 francs.

The annual budget of the city, for defraying all current municipal expenditures, according to the figures set forth in the latest official documents, is only about 2,000,000 francs, so that the revenue derived from this gambling concession is more than sufficient to meet all the expenses of conducting the city's affairs. As a matter of fact, however, only about one-fifth of the revenue thus derived, or 500,000 francs, is annually devoted to the defraying of the current expenses of the municipality. The balance required for the municipal budget is obtained from the very large revenues received from the baths, the Kursaal proper, and the other institutions that have been established by the city at the expense of the gambling establishment for the special accommodation of summer visitors. With these constantly increasing sources of revenue to rely upon, not only are the tax-payers of Ostende practically relieved of nearly all the burdens of local taxation for carrying on their government, but they have the satisfaction of realizing that they have also a large annual balance to the good for permanent improvements, the cost of which comes out of the pockets of others than those whom they directly benefit. In addition to the 500,000 francs annually deducted from the proceeds of the gambling concession, about 200,000 francs of this fund are devoted to certain forms of charity, leaving about 1,800,000 francs of the annual gambling revenue for what may be termed a public improvement fund.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is due to the authorities of Ostende to say that they have made good use of their money. In an official document recently issued, over the signature of the burgomaster of the city, setting forth how the gambling revenues have been used and how essential they are held to be to the continued welfare and prosperity of the city, it is shown that during the existence of the system of licensing the Ostende gaming tables, the city has been enabled to erect beautiful avenues, promenades, dykes, and public buildings for various purposes, besides purchasing and laying out public parks, gardens, and squares. In this same curious and instructive document, which appears to have been issued for the purpose of defeating the proposed anti-gambling legislation, the burgomaster points out that with the aid of these gambling revenues during the next two years it will be possible for the city to add to its attractions by erecting two new churches, some new school-houses, a new fire-engine house, and a new gas-house, and to make additional harbor improvements, without expense to the taxpayers. It will have to be allowed that this constitutes a tempting sort of programme, even though a somewhat incongruous one, considering the character of the benefits sought and the methods of obtaining them. Under the present financial methods of the municipality there is no doubt that Ostende possesses all the charms of a tax-payers' paradise, however far removed it may be from other paradisaic characteristics. But for the taxes imposed by the general Government throughout the kingdom the people of Ostende would have practically no charges whatever to meet in their corporate capacity.

In addition to the financial considerations urged in favor of the maintenance of the present status with respect to licensed gambling, there is heard the familiar argument that vice in some of its features is bound to flourish to a greater or less extent at all times and everywhere, and that it is better that certain forms of it should be permitted to exist under strict official surveillance than that it should be suffered to go on unrestrained and in the dark. There is no doubt that this surveillance is rigidly maintained in the Ostende gambling establishment. No one is admitted to the Ostende club whose name and residence are not officially registered. There is no gambling tolerated in the city outside the licensed gambling establishment, which is ostensibly conducted after the manner of a private club. Entrance thereto is surrounded by certain formalities, which, though not exceedingly rigid, are sufficiently so to hide the play from the public gaze, without putting it beyond the range of official supervision. It is necessary for those who desire to avail themselves of the club's privileges to make formal application, and to await the delibe-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rate action of the management on their application. This action is never taken until after the expiration of two days, during which time an investigation is had as to the genuineness of the applicant's representations concerning himself, as set forth in his application for membership. In this respect the procedure is different from that which obtains at Monte Carlo, where the rule is to admit applicants for admission to the gambling hall without any hesitation or delay, and without charge. At Ostende the admission fee is twenty francs, which operates to exclude nearly all persons excepting those who wish to play, whereas at Monte Carlo the gambling rooms are generally overrun with curious spectators.

Nevertheless, at the height of the season the gorgeous and spacious salons of the Ostende club are generally crowded with men and women, in about equal proportions; and the regulation evening dress of the men and the toilettes and jewels of the women make the scene about the tables as dazzling as it is demoralizing. Roulette and *trente et quarante* are the favorite games, the former generally for low and the latter for high stakes. The minimum stake is five francs, and the maximum is 12,000 francs. The maximum limit is frequently played by the more experienced and reckless gamblers, and the total winnings and losings of a day or a night are undoubtedly of enormous proportions. Just what these proportions are is known only to the inside management. That they are uniformly large can be readily inferred from the fact that it is no uncommon thing to see a single player win or lose 250,000 francs at a single sitting. With hundreds of players at the tables, playing day and night, with chips representing all the way from five to a thousand francs, it is not difficult to reach the conclusion that upward of a million francs are daily lost and won at these tables — and they are generally lost by the players. No doubt the game is fair and square enough, as such games go. It is not necessary for the proprietors of gambling establishments at Ostende or elsewhere to take any unfair advantage of their patrons in order to win their money. Their main reliance is on the recklessness and foolhardiness of the average gambler, who never knows how to stop playing until he has lost his last sou.

Considering the high stakes wagered by so many players at Ostende, the fact that the concession readily fetches 2,500,000 francs annually is not surprising. No doubt it is worth many times that sum to the concessionaires, and they are naturally prepared to spend a great deal of money to defeat the present effort to suppress the system which gives them and their associates a monopoly of the gambling business in the chief watering-place of the kingdom. The amount of money won and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lost at Ostende has grown of late to such enormous proportions that the operations of the gambling establishment have become a continental scandal which has now challenged the attention of the Government in a manner that does not admit of evasion. The experience of the aggrieved parent, before alluded to, brought the excesses of licensed gambling home to a Belgian fireside, and emphasized the demoralizing influence of this form of vice, under whatever auspices it flourishes. Hitherto the Belgian apologists for the existing state of things have been so far disposed to compound with vice as to be willing to allow their municipalities to reap the pecuniary benefits of tolerating the gaming tables so long as the great majority of their victims were summer visitors, away from home. They have entirely ignored the obvious fact that such a gigantic gambling establishment as the Club du Kursaal d'Ostende, "*sous la haute surveillance de la Ville*," could not exist in any community without showing the results of its contaminating influences at home as well as abroad.

The Belgian conscience has been perceptibly quickened by the discussions of the proposed legislation against the gaming tables, and the strength of the anti-gambling movement has surprised its most sanguine promoters. As originally introduced in the Lower Branch of the Legislature the bill commanded an overwhelming majority of the deputies. It was subsequently amended in the Upper House so as to arrange that its provisions should not take effect until the expiration of two years, and that the localities affected by it should be indemnified for the losses which they would sustain under its operations; Ostende and Spa, for example, being granted under these modifications of the bill 5,000,000 and 3,000,000 francs, respectively, to compensate them for the pecuniary loss it is contended they would suffer by the closing of their expensive gambling halls. These amendments were in turn overwhelmingly rejected by the Lower House; and the parliamentary session closed in August with the two branches of the Legislature at loggerheads on this subject.

There is little room for doubt, however, that a satisfactory agreement will be reached when the session is resumed this winter, and that the end of licensed gambling in Belgium is not far off. The forces of delay and obstruction, in one form or another, may operate as temporary setbacks, but they can hardly withstand the tremendous moral uprising that has followed the uncovering of the operations of the gambling halls now protected by the general Government. The debates in Parliament, when the anti-gambling bill was under consideration, emphasized the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact that Belgium stands alone among the representative Governments of Europe in countenancing this sort of thing. There was no serious effort made by the minority to defend the license system, and their efforts were mainly directed toward delay. They were generally willing to allow the bill to become a law at the expiration of the present concession, thus practically acknowledging the ultimate triumph of the anti-gambling movement.

The sudden shutting off of the large revenue now coming to those localities where licensed gambling establishments exist may temporarily affect the local treasuries that have profited so heavily by the sale of these concessions, and may make it necessary for the resident tax-payers to reach down somewhat deeper into their pockets to provide the wherewithal to meet their municipal expenditures; but this can scarcely be reckoned an intolerable hardship. Ultimately this shifting of the burden of taxation and the attendant purification of the local atmosphere must work to their advantage, as similar heroic treatment operated for the benefit of Homburg, Wiesbaden, Baden Baden, and Carlsbad, when licensed gambling was abolished in Germany. Since this change was made the population of these spas has more than doubled, and they are more popular and prosperous resorts for a better class of summer visitors than they were in the days of their notorious gambling halls. The outlook for the Belgian summer watering-places when regenerated will not be so dark as the champions of legalized gambling would like to have people believe. As Catholic Deputy Woerst said in leading the debate on the bill, the time has gone by when a civilized Government can afford to compound with vice by giving it shelter, no matter what the pecuniary inducements may be. And his declaration was cheered to the echo.

GEORGE F. BABBITT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE UNITED STATES CONSULAR SERVICE.

THE trade conditions of our nation are rapidly changing. The United States is to-day an exporter instead of an importer, a creditor rather than a debtor, in its international relations. This new situation, due largely to the efforts of our leading merchants and manufacturers, has stimulated nearly every element of business activity, until all our commercial forces may be said to be vying with each other in increasing the demand for American products throughout the world. It is to be expected that those who seek to promote trade with foreign countries will avail themselves of every possible opportunity to take advantage of favorable conditions, to establish new relations and to increase existing facilities. Naturally, they turn for assistance to the regularly authorized commercial representatives of the Government, the United States consular officers, not only because of the popular belief that the consular department is available for use, but owing to the fact that the greatest benefits we as a nation can derive from this service are those resulting from the fostering and promoting of American export trade.

Since there exists a diversity of opinion concerning the general efficiency of this department as a factor in the development of our commerce, I shall present in this article some evidence, collected as the result of an investigation made during the summer of 1900, when, as the special representative of the National Business League of Chicago, I visited many of the capitals and other large cities of Great Britain and Continental Europe. These particulars may furnish thought for reflecting minds.

Our consular service was primarily created to protect the lives and property of our citizens in foreign countries, and, in some degree, to promote their welfare. Probably its chief object at first was to protect American shipping, then an extensive factor in our foreign trade. For these reasons it was placed in the Department of State. As the functions of this department are of a legal or diplomatic character, the consular bureau was not constituted or technically organized for what is now its more important duty, that of fostering American commerce. So, while the service required has been altered in scope and character,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the administration of the department, though somewhat modified to meet the new conditions, remains practically the same. Proper credit must, however, be given to those in direct charge of this bureau for meeting, so far as has been possible under existing congressional limitations, these rapidly increasing and practically new demands, which should rightfully be deferred to a Department of Commerce and Industries.

Yet, notwithstanding these peculiar conditions, which considerably handicap the efficiency of the department, the United States consular service, when regarded as a whole and compared with that of other nations, ranks creditably for general ability and integrity. A certain limited number of our consuls-general and consuls have shown remarkable proficiency in conducting their offices; and while they have added lustre to our repute and done much to aggrandize the service, as viewed from a business standpoint, they have but demonstrated more fully the wonderful possibilities of the department, and thrown into clearer light the incompetency of a large percentage of their associates. The present system of collecting and promptly publishing commercial news has won well-merited praise for the service; but the credit belongs to the bureau chiefs in Washington, aided by a few good consuls, rather than to congressional legislation or to the efficiency of the whole administration. It is true that, under existing circumstances, our foreign trade has been extended until we have become one of the greatest export nations in the world; but this is due, in a great measure, to the enterprise and business sagacity of our merchants, large numbers of whom have sought out and secured to themselves the markets of the world, independently of, and practically unaided by, the consular department.

To secure proficient service, this department must be divested of all political influence, and, in my opinion, must be regulated by such legislation as will place it in the hands of a competent non-partisan board, having full control, and invested with the power to make all appointments and such rules and regulations as will best serve our general interests. The most glaring defects of our present system are our methods of appointment, the lack of sufficient salary — except in a few cases — the insecurity and usually short term of office, and the absence of classification on any rational basis.

Undoubtedly this service was first brought into disrepute by being used as a political asset with which to pay campaign obligations. While this corrupt policy has been ameliorated during the last three or four administrations, particularly under the present régime, the department still affords many indications of the presence of that influence

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is destructive to perfect democratic government — the spoils system. Although, as is well known, the appointing power is delegated to the President, it is impossible for him to acquire a personal knowledge of every applicant; therefore, under existing methods, he is easily misled by the politicians of his party.

Reviewing the consular list I am led to believe that the more important positions — probably filled by men who before appointment were personally known to the President in power — are, as a rule, held by consuls-general and consuls of ability, while many of the intermediate and lower officials, candidates mostly selected at the request of politicians, display gross ignorance and incompetency. The argument advanced by politicians — and it is they who are defending the present system, possibly on account of the patronage it affords — is that it is necessary for our foreign representatives to be in accord with the President and party in power, and in close touch with them. This same argument might as well be applied to the Supreme Court of the United States. Without attempting to discuss its application to our diplomatic corps, whose members hold close relations with the administration, we must remember that our consular officers are but the business and judicial representatives of the Government. Their selection and retention, therefore, should depend upon qualification rather than political creed or partisan service.

There would appear, however, to be no good reason why the responsibility of making these appointments should be forced upon the President. If they are made without painstaking care in each individual case an imperfect service will result. On the other hand, to investigate each applicant closely necessitates the expenditure of a vast amount of time, and detracts from the dignity of the office of our chief executive. The task should be spared him by its transference to properly organized boards, which will base all such appointments on the fitness of each applicant for the particular office to be filled.

I find that the duties incumbent upon our consular service are far more numerous and varied than those performed in other consular bureaus. As a rule, foreign consuls are not forced to examine into the values of merchandise or to certify invoices of goods about to be exported to their respective countries. Moreover, our people are preëminently imbued with travelling propensities, and many of them seem to regard our consuls as free information bureaus, with a fund at their disposal to be used for the entertainment of all who claim to live under the Stars and Stripes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The dignity and the standing of our country demand that our consular service should be administered according to the highest standards of intelligence, integrity, and business sagacity. Appointees should be not only versed in commercial affairs, but capable of interpreting and applying the laws of our own country as well as those of the nation to which they are assigned. In many countries we have full jurisdiction over our own citizens. They cannot be tried or sued except in our consular courts, so that delegates to such countries should be chosen from men who have had considerable legal experience. They should be capable of solving intricate business problems, should understand the rules and regulations of marine service, and should be proficient in at least one language other than English, as a rule that of the country to which they are appointed. This latter qualification should be imperative; its significance being particularly manifest in the East, where foreign consuls are at the mercy of native interpreters. That the latter have often proved unreliable and have misled our consuls is well known; and a system that permits and furthers such conditions is necessarily imperfect. The old-time assertion that the incoming consul need not institute changes among the subordinate office employees is little less than absurd, particularly when their retention, as is now generally the case, only perpetuates a method that results to our disadvantage.

Our system will remain thus faulty until such time as each consul shall be chosen solely with reference to his adaptability for the particular place in view. A single case, called to my attention while in France, aptly illustrates this point. During a former administration the United States consul to a certain French city was transferred to a German city without change of salary. He spoke French fluently, possessed an intimate knowledge of French business methods, understood the class of business that circulated through his hands, and had satisfactorily fulfilled the duties of the French office. He was unable, however, to speak German, and was wholly unacquainted with the character of the German business which it would be requisite for him to handle. His successor was a man without any business experience or other special qualifications, and did not understand the French language. The latter stated as a reason for his being located in the French city that he was offered his choice of two places, one in France and the other that to which the first-mentioned consul was transferred; but preferring France to Germany as a place of residence, he chose the former.

As a rule a newly appointed consul has little, if any, conception of the duties he will be required to perform. Seldom does he realize that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he should combine the qualifications of a successful business man, a lawyer, a judge, and a diplomat. The sooner it is understood that editors who have rendered party service, ministers in failing health, lawyers without a practice, merchants who have not succeeded in business, or professional politicians without marked legal and commercial ability cannot readily be converted into efficient consuls, the better it will be for the whole country.

I am not, as yet, impressed with the advisability of the movement to establish school or college departments for the purpose of fitting men for the consular service. Unless extreme care were exercised in the admission of students, the department would be filled in a few years with men technically qualified, but practically incapable of administering the affairs of a consular office. The first question asked by a business man of an applicant for an important position in his house is, "What experience have you had in my line?" not, "From what college did you graduate?" or, "What commercial courses have you taken?"—in other words, "From actual service, what do you know about the conduct of my business?" If this same question were propounded to every applicant for a consular position, and he were obliged to prove his efficiency for the appointment, the department would soon become a more important factor in extending American trade.

While civil-service examination should be a necessary requisite to appointment, this examination should be broad enough in its scope to test the practical qualifications of the applicant, whether for first appointment to the service or for subsequent advancement. The British system, while not strictly competitive, is efficient because of its searching investigation, and its promotion according to merit, as demonstrated by actual service. Advancement is secured not alone by a high percentage gained in a technical examination, but from a general record made under strict discipline, as well as a rigid system of inspection which is seldom mitigated. English consuls when newly appointed are generally more capable than ours, because of their early training in the state department or in minor consular positions, or, as is usually the case, in both. This is particularly true in China, where England maintains a corps of students who become versed not only in the language, but in the laws and customs of that country. These students, if graduated after three years' study, are sent to various parts of China to act as clerks and petty officers in the various consulates. They are then promoted from time to time according to merit, until they become consuls. A similar system might be adopted with great profit by our own country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everything possible should be attempted to render each consulate typically American. Instances are on record where many of our consular agents were unable to converse in English, and did not display a United States flag. Provision should be made for the regular issuing of our colors at Government expense, and for their constant display, that the headquarters of every consular officer may be indicated by the Stars and Stripes.

The commercial value of a superior consular department cannot be overestimated. Were our entire system in the hands of competent men, a few years would find this nation practically dominating the markets of the world. This, however, cannot be accomplished under the supervision of such a class of appointees as can afford to accept the salaries now paid by this Government. In a majority of cases the salaries offered do not attract the types of men who are best qualified to render superior service. A limited number of places, affording fixed salaries and notarial fees, prove most lucrative positions. These, with few exceptions, are creditably filled, for the reason that qualified men can afford to seek and accept them.

Considering the expense of living in many foreign cities, together with the social demands upon the representative of a great nation, nearly, if not all, the fixed salaries offered are wholly inadequate. In many instances they amount to only one-half or one-third of those paid by foreign countries. After consulting the salary list, I was led to doubt if among English-speaking people any other service could be found where equal results are secured for such prices as are paid in this department. The salaries of our various consular officers should not only largely exceed their present rates, but they should be advanced beyond the amounts proposed in the various bills recently presented before Congress. A man competent to fill a consular position, and wishing engagement in this service, would, as a rule, were he eligible, do much better to enter the service of some foreign country. This is a deplorable fact; yet congressmen when confronted with this statement only point to the large number of applicants for each position, the small amount of salary stipulated being fully recognized.

That the foreign representatives of American merchants and manufacturers possess, as a class, superior ability to that of a large proportion of our consuls located in the same cities is a fact well known to managers of commercial houses. This condition is due entirely to the methods of selection and the larger salaries paid in the case of representatives of private firms. It is also well known that many well-qualified consuls

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been forced to resign their positions because the salary allowed them did not meet living expenses; and many cases are on record where consuls have been obliged to draw upon their private resources in order to retain their positions and gain the recognition to which a representative of this Government is well entitled. It is also admitted that not only many of our consuls, but certain members of our diplomatic corps, must annually expend for living and entertaining a sum far in excess of their fees and perquisites. As the representatives of a great nation they are compelled to maintain a high social position, and must entertain as often and as lavishly as do the representatives of other nations, though receiving much smaller salaries. They must be courteous and hospitable toward all our countrymen, and must pay due honor to all naval, military, and other officials of our Government who visit them. Consequently, there are many offices that can be filled appropriately only by men who can afford to place their private incomes at the disposal of this Government, a condition which can be regarded only as highly discreditable.

Under our present system salaries are too largely contingent on the receipts of each particular office. Unfortunately this amount is not always in proportion to the business transacted or the ability required to administer properly affairs at that place. The salary should be regulated by the character of the service required, regardless of the amount received by the Government through such office. In addition to their salaries, consular officials should be allowed travelling expenses to and from their posts, with the privilege of returning to the United States at certain intervals. Consuls sent to localities of minor importance should not be expected to render their services in exchange for a salary so small as scarcely to constitute a bare living. If a station is not important enough to warrant the expenditure of an amount that will secure the services of an efficient man it may well be abandoned.

Not only does the United States service pay inadequate salaries to its consuls, but the sums appropriated for its offices and secretaries are in most cases totally insufficient. Since a foreign country is adjudged by the character and surroundings of its accredited representatives, it results from the meagre pittance apportioned for the use and service of our foreign representatives that a great many of our consulates throw discredit on this nation. Many of the lower grades of consuls and consular agents are quartered in shabby rooms, anywhere from the basement to the attic, and in indiscriminate classes of buildings — factories, shops, offices, living rooms in cheap tenement houses, etc., the great majority of which plainly show that their habitation as a consulate is purely a side

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issue. I doubt if such petty economy can be found in any other department of our Government, and it seems unfortunate that it should pertain to the one department above all others which should create the best impression abroad. Every foreign office of this Government should be so equipped as to betoken not only the dignity, but the liberality, of this great nation.

Certain salaries as stipulated are proportionate to the amount of fees secured. The fee system, so far as relates to official charges, detracts, I believe, not only from the standard of the service, but from the dignity of this Government. In so far, at least, as it affects transactions with the citizens of other countries, it might well be abolished. If fees are to be collected they should become, in all cases — official, notarial, or legal — the property of the Government. If this were the case the large incomes derived from a limited number of posts would be credited to the department in general, and a more equitable division of salaries might be secured. After consulting with a large number of well-informed members of the service, I am led to recommend the adoption of a stamp system, stamps to be affixed to every document according to the value of the fee collected. Under the existing system, all official fees collected by consuls are paid into the Government treasury, while such fees as are collected by consular agents, if not exceeding $2,000, are divided equally between the agent and the consul under whom he serves. As each consul may possibly increase his salary to the amount of $1,000 by securing the appointment of, or retaining, one or more consular agents in adjacent cities, he is usually willing, and sometimes anxious, that such appointments be made, though the business handled by such agent would otherwise pass through his office.

Of our 700 consulate officers more than half are consular agents. The salaries of these agents consist of the notarial fees and half the official fees collected by each, with the provision, as before stated, that half of the latter shall not exceed $1,000. These agents are usually local residents or native business men. They receive no pay for furnishing statistics or information valuable to our exporters. Frequently they are interested in lines of goods of home production or produced by some country other than ours. Naturally, they are opposed to the introduction of American goods into their respective countries. Besides this, our Government allows them to collect a fee of two dollars and fifty cents for every certified invoice of goods sent from their own districts to the United States, and offers them nothing for counter-shipments from this country into theirs. As a result of this system, according to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the testimony of many exporters, the consular agent is a detriment and a menace to American export trade; and the sooner every such office is abolished, or a radical change is made in its management, the better it will be for the commerce of this country. In fact, as Hon. Charles Denby, formerly Minister to China, has well said:

> "The consular agent is allowed to do business, usually over the protest of the merchants who are engaged in importing or exporting. All the invoices of the exports pass through the agent's hands, and he is enabled to ascertain the values put on their goods by the merchants, and may thus give valuable hints as to their business."

If, however, consular agents *are* necessary, they should be required to speak English, and should be paid a fixed salary; and their duties should be so regulated that they will act as our agents and in the interests of this Government, rather than for the benefit of the country in which they are located. Our system might well be reversed, either by omitting official fees entirely, or by so changing their disposition that they will become Government funds. It should also offer inducements to every consular agent to increase the markets for our surplus products.

As the term of each consular office is limited by the will of the administration, and as the latter is likely to be changed every four years, the department offers no inducement for men to perfect themselves in this particular service. It is fair to presume that a consul who possesses average ability will in four years acquire a fair knowledge of the requirements of his office and become acquainted with the language, the people, and the business pertaining to his work. A system that permits such a man to be recalled, simply through change of administration, is not only unbusiness-like, but unpractical. As a matter of fact, our consular service may be regarded as a sort of school, conducted at Government expense, in which we admit and educate favored politicians, and from which — with each succeeding administration — we graduate a certain number of disciplined, if non-competent, business men. The reverse of our system prevails in many foreign countries, where not only are such positions reasonably permanent, with advancement according to merit, but the cares incident to old age are alleviated by a pension in reward for a life of faithful service.

The commercial affairs of this nation should be so conducted as to form a superior example of administration to which every citizen might point with pride, whose service every son might aspire to enter, and whose plans and systems every company and corporation might copy. Instead of this our methods are most unbusiness-like, and we permit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men of experience and aptitude to be replaced by those without equal experience and without other qualification than partisan service.

The absence of systematic classification, based on the character and extent of the work to be performed, is to be observed on every hand. Our salary adjustment is not only unfair, but unmethodical. One class of consulates, for instance, is paid a certain salary, while another class, with less work to be performed and requiring men of less ability, receives a much larger remuneration. Our ranks and grades of consular officers are without system. We have consuls-general; consuls who receive a salary but are permitted to engage in business; consuls who receive fees alone and negotiate other business; vice consuls; commercial agents who cannot manipulate trade; commercial agents who are allowed to transact business; deputy consuls; consular agents; marshals; interpreters; and consular clerks, the latter comprising the only class who retain office for life or continued satisfactory service.

It is singular that the rank of office bears no relation either to the ability or to the experience necessary to execute its duties properly, or to the remuneration received therefrom. Congress has from time to time enacted laws that such and such cities should be occupied by an officer with a certain title and salary. A study of the "Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States," a pamphlet issued by the State Department, clearly demonstrates the necessity for a complete reorganization and proper classification of the service. Instead of a fixed salary being apportioned for each city, consular officers should be graded in rank, each rank, like that of the army, to be paid a certain salary, and the official of that rank to receive that salary as long as he remains in that position. This would not only simplify the transference of officers from one post to another, but would prevent the struggle now engaged in to secure appointment in certain desirable cities. Promotion should, in all cases, mount from grade to grade, with a time limit between successive steps. General qualifications rather than seniority of service should be the basis of preferment. Such a system would not only serve as a stimulus to those now in service, but would bring to the department the highest type of applicants, men whose ambition it would be to do honor to their country by honoring themselves.

The rank of the officers to be assigned to certain cities should be specified under the jurisdiction of the managing board, subject to regulations similar to those now employed in the army. All consuls-general should be in fact what they are in name, and should be given more extended authority over the consuls in their districts, so that all com-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munications as well as the work of such other consuls might pass under their notice.

I believe our service would be advanced by the appointment of a body of consulate examiners to visit each office and report at certain intervals on its status, not particularly for the purpose of discovering fraud or illegal practices, but to confer and advise with each official with a view to securing correct interpretations of existing practices and uniformity of work in general. Our banking and post-office systems and our treasury and other departments are especially equipped in this manner, and there would seem to be no good reason why our consular department should not profit by being conducted in a similar fashion. I was informed through reliable sources that a certain United States consul in a French city had not been at his post for ten months, and had no English-speaking employee in his office — a condition belittling to this country and one that could not arise under a proper system of inspection.

Our consular service is now largely a business organization, and should have its origin and management in a business department. It must be acknowledged that men competent to administer affairs of state are not necessarily experts in commercial matters. The time has now arrived when the Government should separate these two departments, and give us a more business-like administration of our commercial affairs. England not only maintains her consular department on a purely business basis, but in addition, since a consul-general has no standing in Court circles, appoints a commercial attaché as a member of her embassy. It is his duty, as a business expert, to report to the ambassador and advise with him concerning all treaties or questions pertaining thereto that are of a commercial character — a field not independently covered by this country.

While an improved system of selecting consuls and a lengthened tenure of office will accomplish much in the way of reform, no decided benefits can be secured so long as congressmen insist that this department must be nearly or quite self-sustaining, and assume that it is not the duty of the Government to find markets for mercantile houses. There would appear to be no reason why the consular service should be self-supporting any more than the army, the navy, the department of agriculture, or the marine-hospital service. The army and navy are maintained for the protection of the lives, freedom, and property of our people; the department of agriculture was instituted to collect and disseminate information of value to our farming communities; our marine-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hospital service was created to protect public health. Our consuls are expected to serve our whole nation, not only commercially, but in every other way that pertains to our welfare; and, as in the case of the army and navy, the expense of the department should be assumed by the national treasury.

Congressmen do not hesitate to adopt measures that annually increase a pension account resulting from our Civil War, or to vote large sums for the support of the army, navy, and agricultural departments, etc.; but they seem to disregard the fact that a nation can meet such appropriations only when prosperous, and that prosperity largely depends on negotiating our surplus products. The agricultural department is a most desirable investment, and, while seemingly conducted for the profit of a single class of producers, is of great benefit to all our people. Our consular representatives are the acknowledged business agents of a Government known far and wide as unexcelled for its practical, energetic, and resourceful qualities. An improved consular service will aid in extending our markets for the products of our soil as well as for our manufactured goods, and our people will gladly indorse and pay for a first-class service as soon as it is divested of political influence and is placed on a rational business basis. Owing to incompetent organization and management our export interests suffer, and we are neglecting golden commercial opportunities. Competition in raw and manufactured goods is constantly increasing. Each nation recognizes in us to-day her most powerful business rival. The world is on the threshold of a great commercial era. Civilization is advancing with such a volume of accumulating strength as was never before anticipated. If we would be borne upward on the crest of this mighty wave, we must clear our craft of the political barnacles that have hitherto impeded its progress; we must cast overboard many of the ancient systems and customs with which we have been weighted down; and, setting our sails, we must seize the helm with the purpose of achieving the highest success by federated action.

Our consular service is each year becoming more closely identified with American foreign commerce, and we can increase the latter by improving the former. This advancement can be secured only by a policy so liberal as to attract to the work men of better calibre and special ability. By concerted action we can effect the necessary legislation. By the agency of our consuls throughout the world let us develop this country into the greatest of all producing nations, and make the word "America" a synonym for sagacity, commercial intelligence, and integrity.

CHARLES TRUAX.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

THE difference between the civilized man and the barbarian consists largely in the fact that the latter lives upon natural products, while the former, through his own labor, has made raw materials and the forces of nature minister to his comfort. In raising himself to a better material condition man has elevated his mental and moral status also. The untutored savage of Africa or Australia finds his whole sustenance in the fruits of the earth and the wild animals, which he manages to kill with great difficulty. It is not true that his life is one of ease. All travellers unite in saying that he works constantly and diligently for an existence which is far from satisfactory even to himself. On the steppes of Asia the tribesmen live largely from the cultivation of flocks. Their civilization is crude compared with that of Western nations, though they have managed to establish a higher social condition than the African.

In our studies of history it is disappointing to read of the high state of civilization in the valleys of the Tigris and the Nile, or in the peninsulas that jut out into the Mediterranean, which existed thousands of years ago, and then vanished almost completely. This disappearance would seem to indicate that civilization is transitory and unsubstantial. The philosopher, however, sees in it the story of an imperfect civilization — one which was confined within too small territorial limits and to an insignificant portion of the inhabitants of the nations involved. He finds the keynote in the fact that there were lacking in those times the means of preserving and disseminating what was achieved. We can all believe that if there had been railways and newspapers in the days of Augustus the mighty hordes of barbarians that later swept down on the nations could have been turned back. China with her 400,000,000 people has been recently defeated by little Japan, and more recently still has made but feeble resistance to a few thousand Western soldiers.

Perhaps in no other way has the accumulated force of civilization been so impressed upon the nations of the world as by the artistic and industrial expositions that have been held in the last fifty years. The impressions made by these have been indelibly stamped not only on the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

individual, but upon the whole of civilized mankind. Their practical demonstrations could not have been accomplished by any academic methods. The senses have been affected and the whole intellectual range has been stimulated not only by the individual displays, but also by the exhibits *en masse*, which in so many ways have illustrated man's conquest of nature.

These exhibitions are new in a certain sense only. In the most ancient times fairs were held where merchants from far and near came to sell and to buy, and these were by no means unimportant in many ways. The travellers carried to their homes new ideas and spread learning to some extent; but the lack of facilities already mentioned hampered them greatly. To this day at Nijni-Novgorod, in Russia, is held an annual fair which in many respects is the most important institution of Northeastern Europe and Northwestern Asia; but it is neither conceived nor carried out on the plan of the modern exposition, which is not for immediate purposes of barter, but is intended to serve a higher and more lasting purpose.

The first international exhibition worthy the name was held in London just fifty years ago. Compared with those of recent years, it was a small affair, and yet it probably required more original planning than any that has taken place since. The first step costs the most. It was in furthering the Crystal Palace exhibition, which he originated and to which he gave his most intense energies, that the Prince Consort, the husband of Queen Victoria, broke down his health and is believed to have materially shortened his life. He was a man of unusual abilities and keen foresight. He believed that this exhibition would give an immense impetus to national trade, and in this he was entirely correct. Every other exhibition has had the same effect. As already stated, it was a small affair, but only relatively speaking. It must not be forgotten that these fairs are possible only as the result of modern mechanical methods, by which enormous buildings can be constructed cheaply. Great space is required to accommodate exhibits; but buildings fitted for this purpose are useful for nothing else, and, with a few exceptions, all have passed away as rapidly as they were constructed. The Crystal Palace, built almost entirely of iron and glass, was in its day a marvel of engineering skill, and was itself in many respects the most important exhibit of all. Although it taxed the ingenuity and skill of designers and constructors, it would now be considered a small contract. This was long before the days of structural steel buildings, and at a time when railway bridges were the highest form of engineering

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

achievement. Indeed, out of railway bridge problems have come most of our advances in the steel and iron industry. Many important questions were given up, because there seemed to be no immediate necessity for their solution; but in railway construction bridges were absolutely necessary — hence the developments of the present day.

The Crystal Palace show opened the eyes of the world to the possibilities and importance of such an institution. Others followed quickly: at Dublin in 1853, at New York in 1853, at Paris in 1855, at South Kensington in 1862, at Constantinople in 1863, at Melbourne in 1866, and at Vienna in 1873, as well as a few others which were not really international. None of these, however, made an impression on the world equal to that of the first, though the exhibition at Vienna was superior in many respects. It was not until 1876, when in Philadelphia was held an exhibition to glorify the centennial of American Independence, that the institution reached its present state of development.

It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of this fair to the people of the United States, as concerns both our own interests and those of foreign nations. It opened our own eyes, as well as those of others. It was the first adequate expression in a material way of the dignity, wealth, and resources of the nation. In the last few years we have attained a place that has, perhaps, made us too boastful. We must not forget that twenty-five years ago our situation was far different. For one hundred years we had wrestled with ourselves, and, though we had survived storm and shock, we were not looked upon as having solved the problem of democracy. Through all that period our development had been watched by statesmen of Europe, and few seemed to have confidence in our future. When the Civil War came we were generally believed by Europe to be on the verge of dissolution. By means of the arts of diplomacy we managed to prevent interference on the part of foreign nations in behalf of the Confederacy; but there came from across the water sympathy and aid, without which the war would have ended sooner. We should not forget that at the most critical period of the war the dying hours of the Prince Consort were given to softening the British answer in the Trent case; and it is possible that but for his influence we might have been plunged into a war with Great Britain.

Even after the war was over there were those who believed that peace could not be lasting and that dissolution must come. One effect of this war was that it took more than a million of Northern men at a time from the field of normal activities, and suddenly left them in 1865

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without employment. But for the sudden increase in the construction of railways, and the donation by the Government of free farms to all who asked, we might have faced a crisis more troublesome than the war itself. There was an immediate exodus of ex-soldiers and others to the farms and mining camps of the West, which relieved the congestion in the older centres. Within a few years the bald prairies were alive with farmers whose crops soon found a market in the East and in Europe.

In addition there were many manufacturing establishments which from 1861 to 1865 had been actively employed in making the *matériel* of war. When the war was over these had to turn to new channels, and our manufacturing received a new impetus greatly stimulated by the ingenuity of American inventors. In the height of what seemed great prosperity came the panic of 1873, which ruined thousands and almost prostrated industry. Here again the European pessimists found a theme from which to moralize upon the weakness of the nation and to predict the most unpleasant things for the future. They forgot that our wealth lay in the ingenuity, ambition, and perseverance of our people, and in the boundless material resources of the country as yet undeveloped. These were unconquerable, and in 1876 the nation was able to make an exhibit which was as astonishing to ourselves as to others.

This exhibition was really an enterprise of Philadelphians, who felt a natural pride in furthering it, because the Declaration of Independence was passed in that city. All the money was raised in the city and State, except a loan of $2,000,000, made by Congress, which was later repaid. The exhibition was held in Fairmount Park, and an immense amount of space was devoted to it. Here for the first time a really international fair was held. The idea of such institutions had been growing in importance in the minds of European nations, and, furthermore, all were interested in getting a share of the commerce of this country. At that time we bought abroad enormous amounts of manufactured goods of every kind; and, as our grain was in great demand, there existed a commerce that it was desirable to make more and more of a reciprocal character. In consequence, apart from large exhibits by individuals from all over the world, there grew up a small city of buildings, erected by the Governments themselves, wherein exhibits of a special character were held.

Most persons are familiar with the character of the exposition buildings at Philadelphia, since they have been constantly reproduced ever since. They were built of iron and wood; and, though not marvels of engineering skill or particularly attractive to the eye, they were notable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for size, convenience, and especially rapidity of construction. The opening exercises were also remarkable by reason of the presence of President Grant and of Emperor Dom Pedro, of Brazil, who simultaneously started the great Corliss engine that set the machinery in motion. On this occasion was played an original composition by Richard Wagner, intended to typify and glorify the triumph of the United States. It is said that for this he received a greater sum than for any other short composition he ever wrote; but it was a flat failure, and probably has not been produced since that time.

Among the features of this exhibition were a few of such lasting importance that they require some attention. As already said, we had become rather boastful of our accomplishments in war and peace, and were inclined to think that all others were effete and beneath consideration. This refers to the masses and not to those who had the best of reasons to know to the contrary. Millions of Americans, therefore, on beholding for the first time what the rest of the world was doing, received a rude shock. It is true that our own exhibits were naturally in excess of those of other countries, and that in some qualities they were not exceeded; but in the aggregate the pride of vain boasters received a decided blow. While we demonstrated then that in matters purely utilitarian we were in many respects ahead of others, there was no other branch in which we had any reason to brag.

What appealed most to visitors and surprised most those who had never had the advantage of foreign travel was the character of those things that were concerned with public display, personal adornment, and home decoration. Many who read this will remember that the color at times seemed absolutely garish, and at first disquieting. It was not long, however, before the newness wore off, and the visitors saw, in the wonderful displays of fabrics, decorations, wall papers, architectural details, and bric-a-brac, an exhibition of beauty in form and color that was pleasing. The result of all this was apparent upon our manufacturers and upon the tastes of the people. Those who remember the average home of 1875, even among well-to-do classes, with its sombre wall papers, dark hangings, and home-made ornaments, and who compare it with the home even of the prosperous mechanic of this day, with its bright carpets and wall-papers, and its pretty decorations of every kind, can see what an enormous advantage has been gained. Nearly all of this is due to the Philadelphia exposition.

Secondly, the visitors gained a practical idea of the way things were done. Neither before nor since has any exposition shown in all its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operations the workings of so many kinds of machinery. There have been more machines exhibited since, but the characteristic of this fair was that nearly every one was in active operation. There are to-day in existence hundreds of thousands of souvenirs of this exposition, which the purchasers saw made with their own eyes.

Lastly, it should be said of this exposition that it greatly cemented the national spirit, and helped to assuage the sectional bitterness that had grown out of the war. It made us feel no less proud of our history than before, and it also stimulated us to those better things which have since been accomplished in so great a measure.

The Paris expositions of 1878, 1889, and 1900 were distinctive from all others that have been held. Their keynote was beauty, and in this they succeeded to an admirable extent. Their only shortcomings arose from the lack of sufficient space in which to house the exhibits properly. The displays in the fine arts have never been exceeded. The mechanical exhibits were not as representative of civilization at large as of France in particular. The advantage of Paris as a place for such exhibitions is obvious, and the fairs can hardly be dissociated from their environment. The exhibition of 1889 was remarkable for the construction of the Eiffel Tower, almost 1,000 feet high, which was the physical keynote of the fair.

A feature that was introduced by the Paris exhibitions, and has become noteworthy in every exhibition since, was the so-called Midway exhibits. Those who look upon them as mere vulgar or grotesque exhibitions for sordid gain have failed to grasp the reason of their popularity. It cannot be denied that in all the collections of this kind there have been offences against good taste, and at times almost against good morals. But what made the sensation at Paris and ever since, and gave them an attraction irresistible even to the sternest moralist, lay in the fact that they formed a sort of microcosm, wherein might be seen all the nations of the earth more or less as they lived at home. If man is "the proper study of mankind," he is certainly also the most interesting. The object-lessons given in these exhibits have contributed more to the general knowledge of man in his various differentiations than all the books that are in existence. Though the purpose of gathering dancing girls from Cairo, savages from the Soudan, and fakirs from India was undoubtedly that of gain, it cannot be denied that the Midway exhibits have formed not only the most popular, but also one of the most instructive, features of such exhibitions. Every human being is too apt to take himself or his neighbor as the standard of civilization, and ut-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terly to ignore the existence of any other standard. To these an object-lesson of this sort has been highly instructive. Even in the Dahomey village at Chicago were found those who represented both high and low types of human nature. It was my privilege to become acquainted with a number of these, and to talk to them fully on many matters. It was with some surprise and no little satisfaction that I discovered the Dahomeyan to be in many respects just such a man as the average citizen of Chicago or Boston, or of the plains of Kansas. These Dahomeyans lacked the arts and conventions of society. They were guided more by caprice and passion, perhaps, than most of us, though there may be room for an argument as to their general status, as they seemed to have fewer of the baser intellectual passions than some of those pretending to a higher civilization. Yet, as a whole, they seemed to regulate their conduct much on the lines of those more favored in their environment. They showed a good nature in conduct, as well as in thought, beyond what one might have expected. Those who studied closely the various phases of human nature at these exhibitions found in them the highest enjoyment and profit.

In the World's Fair at Chicago there were elements of various kinds which permitted a display such as the world had never seen before and is not likely soon to see again. This is no disparagement of other exhibitions, but it is a fact that must not be overlooked in discussing the value of such institutions. The elements of vital importance were location, size, unlimited money, new constructive methods, and international coöperation.

There never was a location so delightful or adequate. It permitted not only a harmonious distribution of the enormous buildings, but a display of landscape gardening on a scale never before attempted, while from the waters of Lake Michigan was contrived a series of canals and basins that reminded one of Venice. To this was added what at that time was a new feature — the great use of electricity, which lighted up not only the buildings, but the grounds, the borders of the canals, the fountains, and the lagoons, the result being a delightful dream of beauty.

But the location was happy not only in its actual site, but in its relation to the whole country. In 1876 enormous crowds were in attendance, but visitors from west of the Alleghanies were in a great minority, from not only territorial but financial reasons. Chicago has been made the sport of paragraphers for many years; yet the city itself was the greatest exhibit of 1893, in so far as the energy and enterprise of its people were concerned. In 1870 it lay in ashes; in 1893 it con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tained over 1,000,000 inhabitants, and, if not representing in the aggregate the highest culture, was the best expression of the commercial development of the country. It was fortunate that there was so large an attendance from Europe, because the visitors were largely those who could not believe that there was anything beyond the Alleghanies except a crude civilization comparable only with the steppes of Siberia. It was an education for Europe to find 1,000 miles from the Atlantic a great city which in many forms of physical expression had no equal.

As to the buildings themselves, they were on a scale attempted neither before nor since, and yet were cheaper than many smaller ones previously erected. By this time we had learned more about steel construction than any other nation on earth. The adoption of "staff" as an accessory was not original, but was used on an unprecedented scale. Plaster-of-Paris and shavings formed a material of beauty and ample stability for the purpose, not only for buildings, but for decorations. There were literally thousands of decorative figures, from the simplest designs to the most elaborate compositions of heroic size which embellished buildings and grounds, giving an air of artistic verisimilitude to the whole that was not diminished by the knowledge that all was unsubstantial. Indeed, the "White City" was most imposing from the outside. The exhibits were all that the world afforded and were individually interesting, but were so numerous that a visitor could not pretend to comprehend them in detail. Most people preferred to view the scene of beauty by day or night from the outside, and to glance hurriedly at what was within. To tell the truth, there was some disappointment in the fact that so many of the exhibits were "dead," even in the mechanical departments. There were more machines than in 1876, including many that on the former occasion were not dreamed of; yet there was not an exhibition of the doing of things equal to that at Philadelphia. The mechanic could read the machine and stand in wonder; but the ordinary citizen would have preferred to see more of the actual process of the manufacture of finished products from the raw material. The electrical exhibition was one of the most interesting; and it was noteworthy that though only seventeen years had passed, there was devoted to this branch of science a building almost as large as the largest at Philadelphia. At the latter exhibition almost the only novel electric exhibit was an experimental telephone.

The Chicago exposition was notable in that it showed how far this nation had progressed in the preceding seventeen years. Here again Europe made a fine showing, but the contrast was not so glaring. We

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had learned many things. In the mechanical arts and sciences we had, for the most part, no superiors; and in many respects we led easily, not only in ingenuity and simplicity of operation, but through the demonstrated fact that our methods of construction were superior to others. One of the most impressive features of the exhibition to those who understood mechanics was the machinery designed to make machines. In this line the United States stands so far in the lead that it has no competitor; and this is to a large extent responsible for the tremendous expansion of trade that we have enjoyed since that time. The American does things more quickly and more cheaply than any other nation on earth; and, as this is an unsentimental age, it is natural that he should get trade from all over the world. Our mechanical pole is longer than that of any other nation, and we knock the most persimmons.

One of the reasons why the "dead" exhibits in all the buildings failed to be as attractive as was possible grew out of the fact that the department store had arisen since the Centennial, and as a direct outgrowth of it. In 1876 Stewart's store in the city of New York was considered one of the wonders of the world. Yet it was simply what was then known as a "drygoods" store, and was devoted to that branch of the business only. To-day it would be considered small compared with some of the establishments that have since arisen, which are ready to supply at a moment's notice anything from a pound of steak to a tiara of diamonds. It was perhaps due more to Mr. John Wanamaker than to anyone else that this diversity of commodities was introduced. He saw the exhibition in 1876, and immediately began to model his store on that basis, with the result that there are now in every city of even moderate size stores which are in themselves an exhibition of the world's progress in the arts and manufactures.

There was another feature of the Chicago fair that made a great impression. Women figured in it to an extent never before known. The first attempt to make woman's work an important feature was made in 1876, when, under the leadership of Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, a great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, a building was erected for the exclusive exhibition of what women had done. At that time there was an agitation for the greater freedom of women in political and social affairs. This movement has since grown to enormous proportions, so that when at Chicago there was exhibited the fruit of the labor of women in the arts and sciences it awakened general surprise and approval. This building was designed by a woman and decorated by women, and all that was contained in it showed what woman had accomplished in this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country outside that domain of cooking and dish-washing to which the sex had been so long condemned by men. Out of this exhibit has come much good, for it was shown that, in designing fabrics, wall papers, and works of art, women possessed not only originality, but a sense of beauty and of delicacy of form, and a regard for proportion that were astonishing to those who believed that men were the only creators on earth.

Let those who were at Chicago now cast back their remembrance as a whole, and they will see not so much the details of that marvellous collection as the immense mass of it all. What remains indelibly fixed is the "White City" of marble, by day richly robed, at night in gorgeous electric colors, with fountains playing, gondolas moving, with beauty in form and construction all around. Nothing like it has ever so nearly approached the impossible ideals of oriental imagination; no stories of Aladdin's creations or tales of mysterious cities of fable have made such an impression as this marvellous city by Lake Michigan, where the whole world gathered to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. At Paris last year there was a higher expression of beauty in detail; there were more surprising effects on the Seine; but the impossibility of collecting together all that was shown made the impression less permanent.

Of the Buffalo exposition this year it is not necessary to speak in detail, because it has been discussed so fully in the daily press. The keynote of it was electricity. It was this mysterious display of an incomprehensible power that impressed one most. The exhibition was by comparison small, though artistically it was beautifully arranged; and the buildings, instead of being white, were all garbed in a scheme of color which struck the uncouth observer as garish, but which, when studied, was seen to be worked out on a plan of æsthetics both precise and charming. It was pleasing to the eye and restful compared with the glare of Chicago. It marked a distinct advance; and, while the exhibits were notable, the exhibition was marvellous in the fact that it was the visual expression of the power of the falling waters at Niagara. If there had been no falls near by there would have been no exhibition. It is because the mind of man has been able to harness the greatest force of its kind in the civilized world, and make it minister to his material wants, that Buffalo and its fair were notable. When Father Hennepin stood and gazed for the first time on the waters of Niagara, he little thought that this first vision of a white man foreshadowed the day when, within an easy day's walk from where he stood, there would be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a city larger than the Paris or the London of his time, where almost every industry would take its impetus from those falls.

If it were possible that, in the spirit, this first missionary to the Red men of the Lakes could have stood at the arch in Buffalo at the end of twilight any night of the recent summer, he would have beheld a scene which even his terrestrial conceptions of paradise could hardly have exceeded. When the shadows fell over the landscape and the outlines of the beautiful buildings were faintly marked against the sky, and there came a hush on the assembled multitude, he would have heard the strains of "Nearer, my God, to Thee" softly played by the most famous military bands in the world. Then as he looked across a lagoon surrounded by masterpieces of architecture, crowned at the end by a lofty and graceful tower, he would have seen what to his earlier imagination would have been a miracle. When darkness had fallen there would have come a brief subdued pink outline of every building, of the fountains and lagoon, as if glow-worms by millions were arranged in geometrical precision. Standing in wonder, he would have seen it gradually increase in brilliancy, until finally, as the band swelled the fortissimo note of praise, there would burst on his vision the whole fair in a myriad of diamond-sparkling lights, the most wonderful scene ever beheld by terrestrial eyes. Here was the apotheosis of Niagara Falls, a scene worth travelling round the globe to behold, and one which was no more impressive in its æsthetic sense than in that material value it so well typified.

One might say that the Centennial represented Uncle Sam as a strong man rejoicing to run a race; that the Chicago Fair showed him rich in the possession of power and potential wealth; and that Buffalo represented Columbia resplendent in jewels, the most beauteous the mind of man has ever conceived.

Indeed, expositions have a twofold value. They impart knowledge, and, what is far better, they stimulate the imagination. What the average man learns in cold demonstration is seldom of ethical value, because it is impossible of application. But in stimulating the imagination, whether it appeals to his sense of beauty, of power, of the possibilities that lie within himself, or of the dignity of manhood and the majesty of national grandeur, these expositions have had and must ever have a lasting power for good. Surely no one who saw all these manifestations of the wonders worked by man can ever forget them, or can ever cease to be stimulated to higher and nobler purposes.

JOSEPH M. ROGERS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WRITERS IN THE DECEMBER FORUM.

MR. GEORGE F. BABBITT is a native of New England, and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1872. Joined the editorial staff of "The Boston Post." Subsequently went to "The Boston Herald," with which newspaper he is now connected in an editorial capacity. Has travelled extensively abroad, and his contribution to this number of THE FORUM is one of the results of his studies and personal observations in foreign countries. Mr. Babbitt was a health commissioner of the city of Boston from 1879 to 1900.

PROF. RUDOLF EUCKEN, born in Germany in 1846, has been Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena since 1874. Several of his philosophic works, notably "Die Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart" and "Die Lebensanschauungen der Grossen Denker," are very widely known.

MR. E. J. GIBSON has been manager of the Washington bureau of "The Philadelphia Press," and an editorial writer on that newspaper, for thirteen years. Began newspaper work on the Rochester "Democrat," and at the age of twenty-two was editor and manager of the Oswego, N. Y., "Daily Times." Was for ten years a member of the staff of the New York "Tribune," and later managing editor of the Baltimore "News." Was a war correspondent in Cuba, and has written extensively from Europe and elsewhere for the "Press."

HON. ROBERT HUTCHESON was born in Pennsylvania in 1828 and removed at an early age with his parents to Ohio. Was educated in the common schools and at Wittemberg College, Springfield, O. Studied law and became a prominent member of the bar of that State. Was a member of the Ohio Legislature for four years, in House and Senate. Removed to New Orleans, in 1870, and served for four years as Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Louisiana. Has resided in Washington, D. C., for the last twenty-five years. Is a member of the bar and Examiner in Chancery for the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Has been an occasional contributor to the "Washington Post" for several years on topics involving questions of constitutional and international law.

HON. WILLIAM R. MERRIAM was born in 1849 at Wadham's Mills, Essex County, N. Y. Graduated from Racine College in 1871. Became clerk in 1871, Cashier in 1873, Vice-President in 1880, and President in 1882 of the Merchants' National Bank of St. Paul, Minn. Was elected member of the Minnesota Legislature in 1882 and Speaker in 1886. Was Governor of Minnesota from 1889 to 1892. Is Director of the United States Census.

REV. GILBERT REID, D.D., was born on Long Island in 1857. Graduated in 1879 from Hamilton College, and in 1882 from Union Theological Seminary. Commenced missionary work in China the same year in connection with the Presbyterian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church. In 1894 withdrew from the Presbyterian Board, and undertook a new mission among the higher classes, from which has grown the International Institute of China. During the China-Japan war acted as correspondent for the London "Times," and during the recent war as correspondent for the London "Morning Post." For ten months was interpreter to the British forces, most of the time in administration of Peking. Dr. Reid is author of "Glances at China," "Reunion of Christendom," and other works.

MR. JOSEPH M. ROGERS was born in Ohio in 1861, and was graduated from Berea College, Ky., in 1879. Then conducted a newspaper in Wisconsin. In 1885 removed to Philadelphia, where he has been connected ever since with "The Philadelphia Inquirer," with the exception of a few years spent in New York as Sunday editor of "The New York Herald" and managing editor of "McClure's Magazine." Has written many articles for magazines and reviews, and has published a "History of the United States." At present is literary editor of "The Philadelphia Inquirer."

DR. NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER was born in Maxatawny township, Berks County, Pa., in 1849. Was graduated at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Studied afterward in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, and later at the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, and Leipsic. Was Professor in Franklin and Marshall College 1875–1877, and Principal of the Keystone State Normal School, Kutztown, Pa., 1877–1893. Is now serving his third term as State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania. Is the Editor of the "Pennsylvania School Journal" and of "Bible Readings for Schools," and author of a treatise on "Thinking and Learning to Think" (vol. i of Lippincott's Educational Series). During the absence of Prof. M. G. Brumbaugh as Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico, Dr. Schaeffer has had charge of the department of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania.

MR. JOSEPH SOHN was born in New York City in 1862. Was educated at the College of the City of New York and in Berlin, Germany. Is a graduate of the Neue Akademie der Tonkunst in the latter city. Has filled several editorial positions and is a frequent contributor to the magazines.

MR. CHARLES TRUAX is President of Truax, Greene & Co., Physicians' and Hospital Supplies, Chicago. He was appointed last year by the National Business League of Chicago to visit Great Britain and Continental Europe and make investigations on the subject discussed in his present article.

MR. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST, a native of New York, is one of the best-known and ablest writers on political subjects at the National capital. For a number of years has occupied an editorial position on the Washington "Post," in charge of the Congressional and political work.

MR. JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY was born in 1866 at Baltimore, Md. Has devoted his life to diplomacy and international law and also to the cultivation of international relations. A number of his writings upon historical and diplomatic questions have appeared in the magazines of England and America. Mr. Whiteley is Vice-President, and one of the founders, of the International Congress of Diplomatic History. Is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, a member of La Société d'Histoire Diplomatique, of France, and a corresponding member of La Société des Etudes Historiques, of Paris.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED